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CASE WORK IN THE REPATRIATION OF IMMIGRANTS

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ON FORTY different ships, and on their repeated voyages from eastern and western ports, there have recently sailed away from the United States hundreds of men, women, and children whose departure was arranged by the Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago. A thin stream has flowed northward also across the Canadian border, and a wide stream southward across the Rio Grande. It has not been a dramatic migration because it has not been a mass movement but repatriation case by case of persons who left the United States with better prospects in view in other parts of the world.

As the economic depression settled down upon the people of the United States the position of the foreign-born became peculiarly difficult. Certain circumstances especially affecting them lie at the base of their appeal for repatriation.

1. The demand for labor had increased after the World War and there was a corresponding upward wave of immigration from Europe. And when the numbers were cut down by the quota acts of 1921 and 1924, industries, especially in Chicago and elsewhere in Illinois, sought the help of immigrants from Mexico, "a non-quota country." They came in response to this demand in waves from 1921 to 1927. The fact that the post-war immigrants were recent newcomers and had therefore not yet acquired very deep "roots" in the community placed them in a precarious economic situation. The

adventure of the Mexicans from a warm climate to a state as far north as Illinois was precarious also for other reasons.

2. European immigrants who had founded homes in this country expecting to bring their families often found their plans delayed. Many of those who had come to the United States following the war and who had been supporting their wives and children abroad had had time to complete their citizenship and could therefore have sent for their families *ex quota*. They were ready to buy steamship tickets, but they all knew too well that "a depression is not a time in which to leave the mother country."

3. For those who had not been able to complete citizenship the coming of their families was difficult because, by the terms of the Immigration Act of 1924, non-quota privileges were given only to the families of full citizens of the United States and because there were long waiting lists for places in the quotas. The repeated failure of the Congress to provide legislatively for the reunion of separated families, in spite of the appeals of social agencies which recognized the evils of continued separation, further discouraged their establishment in this country. The hope of reunion on this side of the water, for many a family, faded out completely.

4. As the depression spread it became more difficult each year for the non-citizens to secure or hold employment. The opportunity for positions in public service increased rapidly but decreased rapidly in private employment. Civil service laws require citizenship for public office. In order to limit the labor supply, as well as for other reasons, many private industries also began to require citizenship as a qualification for employment.

5. Coincident with the demand that employees be citizens of the United States, added difficulties and obstacles presented themselves in the naturalization process. The one that surpassed all others in preventing naturalization was economic: the heavy increase in naturalization fees on July 1, 1929. The effect upon applications was sudden and startling. To have increased the fees by 300 per cent at the beginning of the depression was incredible if assimilation by naturalization was the end desired.

A natural result of these acute forms of economic pressure upon the foreign-born was therefore emigration from the United States.

EMIGRATION OUT OF THE UNITED STATES

There is always some emigration out of the United States. There was a substantial countermovement even when immigration was at its peak, before the war. But as the depression was prolonged, emigration from the United States began to exceed immigration into the United States, as will be seen from Table I. By 1932 the commissioner-general of immigration reported¹ that not since the govern-

TABLE I*
IMMIGRANT ALIENS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES, EMIGRANT ALIENS DEPARTED FROM THE UNITED STATES, AND NET INCREASE OR DECREASE FOR THE FISCAL YEARS ENDED JUNE 30, 1924, TO JUNE 30, 1935

Year	Immigrant Aliens Admitted	Emigrant Aliens Departed	Net Increase or Decrease
1924	706,896	76,789	+630,107
1925	294,314	92,728	+201,586
1926	304,488	76,992	+227,496
1927	335,175	73,366	+261,809
1928	307,255	77,457	+229,798
1929	279,678	69,203	+210,475
1930	241,700	50,661	+191,039
1931	97,139	61,882	+ 35,257
1932	35,576	103,295	- 67,719
1933	23,068	80,081	- 57,013
1934	29,470	39,771	- 10,301
1935	34,956	38,834	- 3,878

* Compiled from *Annual Report of the U.S. Commissioner General of Immigration to the Secretary of Labor*, 1929, pp. 106, 198; *ibid.*, 1930, p. 58; *ibid.*, 1931, p. 78; *ibid.*, 1932, p. 57; *ibid.*, 1933, pp. 43, 46; *ibid.*, 1934, pp. 57, 59; *ibid.*, 1935, p. 83.

ment began to keep official records of such departure had so many foreign-born residents voluntarily left the United States in proportion to those who entered; and that not since the war, in proportion to arrivals destined to this state, had so many left Illinois.

In 1929 of the immigrant aliens admitted to the United States, 18,530 were destined to Illinois. Of the emigrant aliens departed in that year from the United States, 3,480 went from Illinois. In 1930 the comparative figures for Illinois were 15,012 admitted, 2,541 de-

¹ *Annual Report of the U.S. Commissioner General of Immigration to the Secretary of Labor*, 1932, pp. 2, 16.

parted; in 1931, 5,850 admitted, 2,934 departed; in 1932, 1,902 admitted, 4,591 departed—an excess of 2,689 emigrants from Illinois in that year. The tide had swung heavily out of the state and out of the country.²

Incidentally, this ebbing flow has carried with it many American-born children to countries which they never saw before. They are citizens of the United States and will presently, as they grow up, wish to return to the land of their birth. In a few years there will be appreciable numbers of American-born “immigrants” to the United

TABLE II*
EMIGRANT ALIENS DEPARTED FROM THE UNITED STATES
DURING THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1934,
BY RACE OR PEOPLE

Race or People	No. Departed	Race or People	No. Departed
Mexican	6,384	Scandinavian	1,838
English	4,841	Spanish	1,290
German	4,227	Spanish Americans	1,182
Italian	3,314	French	1,179
Chinese	2,293	Cuban	1,060
Scotch	2,268	Other	7,932
Irish	1,963		
		Total	39,771

* *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor, 1934, p. 59.*

States—as there have been in small numbers in the past—who will be as “foreign” to their mother-country as if they were aliens in truth. They will need, when they come, a friendly agency to aid in their adjustment to laws and manners and customs which will be utterly strange.

Among the foreign-born, Mexicans led the movement home in largest numbers—14,406 in 1931; 36,992 in 1932. Table II presents for the various races and peoples the numbers of emigrant aliens departing from the United States during 1934.

Many individuals and families had left voluntarily while they still had funds in hand. By 1934 aid for those who could not afford to pay their own way back became more and more important. Those who clung longer to the brave hopes with which they had sought the

² *Ibid.*, 1929, pp. 78, 80; *ibid.*, 1930, pp. 94, 96; *ibid.*, 1931, pp. 113, 115; *ibid.*, 1932, pp. 99, 101.

"New World" found those hopes gradually grow dim. Loss of work turned their eyes backward to the farms and villages which they had left, perhaps in their youth. The United States itself experienced a "back to the farm" movement during the same years. The foreign-born gave it international significance. They came to feel that older, more familiar associations, among simpler, less expensive surroundings would make livelihood easier. In the home village there would not be the problem of paying city rents. Food was close at hand. Fields and vineyards promised peace, away from destitution. The city streets and the city shelters grew bleak. One man who decided he should go back had lived for six years in a "dump" in South Chicago. South Halsted became intolerable to the lonely Greek men who had settled there as they had founded business enterprises. They began to flock to the Immigrants' Protective League, begging to be sent home to Crete or Corfu, Athens, Androusa, Skavas, Sparta, Patras, Tripolis, or Piraeus! And presently many other nationalities in Chicago were straining every effort to leave the United States.

SOCIAL CONSIDERATIONS AS TO ADVISABILITY OF VOLUNTARY RETURN TO HOMELAND

In deciding upon a case plan as to the return of an individual or family to the homeland, there are many considerations first to be taken into account.

1. "*Far fields are greener.*"—To the destitute or homesick person "far fields may seem greener" but may not actually be so in fact. He comes asking to be "sent back" or to be "sent anywhere" or "sent somewhere," because his present circumstances have become unendurable. It is what many others have wished as conditions grew worse.

2. *Prospect of support or care in other country.*—The well-grounded case-worker does not embark upon any such plan, however, unless an inquiry is made and unless it is established that back in the homeland there is a possibility of means of support; that there are members of the family or close friends awaiting those who wish to return; or that the little farm or plot of land does actually exist and is not merely a happy dream from more youthful days; or that employ-

ment is available or an old occupation may be resumed. Nowadays it is not in the least necessary to "leap in the dark" in deciding for or against repatriation. There are agencies to make investigations abroad and report the facts. That there are possibilities of employment abroad if international placement is carefully carried out is borne out by the experience of the Immigrants' Protective League.

The agency that "dumps" clients from one country to another merely because it may be possible—or more locally from county to county or state to state—does not meet the tests of sound family rehabilitation work. Nor is the agency justified in its case work if it embarks upon a repatriation plan because the clients are "troublesome," or "difficult," or "do not co-operate." A social agency should not lend itself to easy desertion and non-support or to the plans of a family who attempts by this means to "work off" some undesired wife or parent."

A certain court referred a wife and child to the Immigrants' Protective League for an application for repatriation because "her husband did not support her." He had \$800 in savings, however, other funds loaned out, and was employed. She and her child were not properly "charity cases." It was a problem of enforcement of support in Chicago and of reconciliation of family misunderstandings, not of separating the family, perhaps permanently, by repatriation. For the man did not wish to go and could not have been forced to do so, even had it been desirable. A social agency must recognize the appropriate solution for the problem that actually exists in a family—not look upon repatriation as a cover-all.

3. *Reunite or keep the family together.*—In the cases of single men or women returning to parents or relatives abroad, the matter of keeping the family together is of course automatically settled. In the return of husbands or wives to families in other countries, reunion is thereby also accomplished. In moving whole families out of the United States, however, it is of the greatest importance that they should not be separated as the plans are made. Sources of funds may be available for members with a certain length of residence in the United States as will later be seen, but not available for other members. There must be no temptation on this score. Social workers who have assisted the foreign-born in this country are too well

aware of the tragic circumstances in separated families to be a party to such separation when the migration is outward. For internal as well as external reasons family separation may mean family disintegration. There is no longer freedom of movement from country to country. Even members of families who did not intend to settle abroad, but merely meant to make a trip for a longer or shorter period while other members remained in the United States, have often found that they could neither leave the country to which they had gone nor re-enter the United States. This has been notably true when the traveler suffered from any physical or mental difficulty. The fact that repatriation means that the emigrant "burns his bridges behind him" explains the wisdom and, indeed, the necessity of keeping families together as they depart.

Occasionally, in the interest of family reunion, it is necessary for the social agency in this country to appeal to the foreign government to permit the return of its once national, as is illustrated in the following excerpt from a letter in behalf of a family separated by emigration:

We are writing to request that your office, and the British Embassy, if necessary, reconsider the matter of a permit to enter Scotland for Mr. — of this City. As you perhaps know, he was born in Newcastle, Scotland, came to this country just before the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, and finally did take out his naturalization papers here because he felt that it would assist him in earning his livelihood in this country. He has a wife and child who are also Scotch. In fact, as you perhaps know, they are both at present in Newcastle, Scotland. His little son is less than two years old and is growing up there without his father. This man is employed as a machinist here, but is very anxious to return to his wife and child in Scotland. He would like to "resign" his United States citizenship. Inasmuch as there is no provision for an immediate renunciation of his United States citizenship, while he is here, we have advised him that he could automatically lose it by two years residence in his land of birth.

We understand that some question has been raised as to an immigration visa into Scotland. You will readily see the many hardships imposed upon this little family if Great Britain refuses to let him return to his homeland. We know in this country, from sad experience, that the effects upon separated families of prolonged absence are not advantageous to the countries in which the various parts of these families happen to reside. . . . He can, of course, pay for his own transportation back to the British Isles, and will certainly not enter without funds. We know how sympathetic your office is in human distress arising out

of regulations and laws pertaining to naturalization and citizenship, in whatever country they may arise. In such an instance as this, cannot your country receive back into its arms, a son of the British Empire?

4. *Effect of citizenship and length of residence here or abroad.*—If the client is a naturalized citizen of the United States, or if there are American-born members of the family, the agency must proceed cautiously. Such members may have no rights in the other country, even though it may have been "the fatherland" of the older members.

Their very first difficulties may arise under the poor laws of the other country or under the unemployment-insurance acts. In Great Britain, for instance, a notice from the British consul in Chicago in 1931 advised as follows:

It is desirable to correct any impression there may be that British subjects formerly resident in Great Britain and Northern Ireland who return thereto after a period of absence will immediately become eligible for unemployment benefit. If they have been abroad for any length of time they cannot draw unemployment benefit in the United Kingdom without first securing a sufficient amount of employment in an insured trade to enable them to qualify for benefit should they subsequently become unemployed.

When medical assistance or care in a hospital for mental cases is needed, the social worker in the United States must make sure before the family's emigration that it is available and waiting for the repatriate. If the country has a system of "state medicine," proof of the citizenship of that country may be requisite for such care. Acting from Chicago after careful diagnosis here, the Immigrants' Protective League has placed returning patients directly in hospitals for the tuberculous and for the insane, notably in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, France, and Germany, near the permanent homes of the other members of those families.

A letter in 1932 from the International Migration Service raised the following wise question as to relief in Germany:

We believe that we should secure as much evidence as possible that the parents in Germany are in a financial position to care for five additional persons before any plan is entered upon to send them abroad. As the three children are American born, there must be no question of their ever becoming dependent in Germany, as they would not be eligible for the same type of public relief as German children.

Some countries, notably Great Britain, have manifested reluctance to issue passports or authorize reduced fares for the return of their nationals, if it appeared that they would become public charges upon return. In fact, the British consul stated in October, 1932, that it was

unfortunately no longer possible to obtain reduced passages from New York to Great Britain without the Consulate General first referring the case to the Public Assistance Officer of the District in Great Britain to which the applicant wishes to proceed. A statement has to be received from the Public Assistance Officer to the effect that he will not become a public charge in that district. Should a favorable reply be received regarding any case, a reduced fare is then obtained for the applicant from some British shipping company through the British Consulate at New York.

A report illustrating this policy, for instance, was received from the Public Assistance Department of the county of Ayr in April, 1933. The officer wrote that the

applicant's father was for a considerable period in receipt of relief from this Parish, but for the last three or four years I have lost trace of him and I cannot say where he is now, but he is unable to do anything to assist his son or his family. Insofar as the other relative is concerned, I am not prepared to guarantee that she is in a position to maintain this man and his wife and family until he could find employment. We have a large number of unemployed both at Glengarnock and Kilbirnie at the present time, who cannot be absorbed in work and therefore I am not in a position to advise you to grant an assisted passage in this case.

The Public Assistance Department of the city of Leeds reported to the contrary concerning another potential repatriate, that his sisters had "expressed willingness to care for him if he returns to England" and that a brother-in-law

runs a small carpenter and undertaking business on his own account. He states that he could probably assist this man in obtaining employment, although he has no room for him in his own small business. One sister's family have no children and live in a house containing a living-room, sitting-room, and three bedrooms, so that they have plenty of room for this brother.

In spite of the possibility that they might become public charges in their homeland, the social worker would not carry out repatriation even for a country's own nationals, and even if other reasons made it advantageous for the family to go, if the eligibility to public sup-

port there were in question. In such countries length of residence may be a condition of public assistance and therefore a primary consideration for the social worker in the United States who is considering the repatriation of a family.

Fairly frequently, among the repatriation cases handled by the Immigrants' Protective League, the nationals sent to homelands have been eligible for old age pensions, war pensions, and other special public benefits. Through the appropriate foreign consuls in Chicago or New York the League has established citizenship and other conditions of eligibility, arranged for payment of pension upon return, and communicated with a social agency abroad to make sure that such adjustments were carried out after arrival.

A wife in Poland wrote

that she was willing to receive her husband in her home, especially since the house and land belonged to him, but that she was not very enthusiastic about her husband and complained that he had sent very little money home from America during his stay there. It seemed to her that the United States government should give him a pension so that he might return to live comfortably in Poland.

Her feeling about a pension may have been naïve, but in view of her husband's long labor in American industries, it may not have been entirely unreasonable. She is at least far ahead of her time, as to the international aspects of old age pensions or industrial and unemployment insurance.

In a number of countries naturalized American citizens who return are said to be at no disadvantage in securing work. Such assurances bear more than surface inquiry, however. Although so stated as to Hungary, for instance, it is nevertheless true that a returning citizen of the United States "may live and work on his own property," but he "may not hire himself out for wages!" In order to regain Hungarian citizenship a man must first qualify with five years of residence after his return, be "a person of good moral character," etc.

In the instance of countries at war or preparing for war, or about to hold a plebiscite, official eagerness for the return of their nationals is often quickly manifest. Free passage was provided, although said not to be defrayed by the government itself, to Germans willing to

return for the Saar plebiscite in 1935. Even United States citizenship in many instances did not disqualify them from the offer. At one time Yugoslavia appeared willing to provide transportation expenses for able-bodied men who might be needed for service at the Italian border. At another time the threat of war at other points in the Balkans opened the doors to assisted passages for Greeks and Bulgarians if they desired repatriation. At such times the social worker should remind the client of the meaning of war and make sure that the implications are clear before he proceeds with his application.

Returning nationals have always been welcome in Italy, especially during the last few years. Even citizenship in the United States has not seemed to disqualify them from benefits, or to lessen the welcome. "Once an Italian, always an Italian" is the recognition received from that government. There was no rush of Italian men from Chicago, however, to engage in the Ethiopian campaign. On the contrary, now that business is better, there has been in Chicago a noticeable increase in petitions for visas for wives and children, filed by men whose birthplace was Italy but who are now citizens of the United States.

5. *Family must not be stranded en route.*—Considerations as to citizenship allegiance and length of residence reinforce the need of adequate repatriation budgets. They must cover the whole journey, so that the family or individual will not be stranded en route, or left in a foreign land, or deposited at the border of the country either far from or near the final place of destination. One of the most cruel effects of compulsory emigration—expulsion—has been the failure of the United States government in certain cases to send the deportee all the way. To be put off in a place where he is an utter stranger may mean the most abject misery. The social worker, therefore, may not run the risk by securing only part of the funds needed that the returning family might be turned adrift as helpless refugees in a foreign country.

6. *Repatriation plan should be permanent.*—A repatriation plan should in most cases be a permanent plan before it is adopted. It should be regarded as a basis for more economic security for the family in the future. It is to be understood also at the time it is

carried out that a return to the United States would probably be extremely difficult or entirely impossible.

When repatriation applications were first made to the Immigrants' Protective League, it was often found necessary to explain to clients that the journey in prospect was not to be just "a trip for their health." Nor was the League in the business of arranging sea voyages for mere pleasure or adventure. The step to be taken by the family was much more serious and final. It must be weighed by the families themselves from all points of view before undertaken. The League's social worker must not permit them to be stampeded by their own eagerness. An assisted passage out of the country would first of all raise the presumption in the record, if a return to the United States were contemplated, that the returning alien might be "likely to become a public charge," and might therefore be inadmissible in the future. Indeed, the circumstances of departure may be in many ways prejudicial to re-entry. In the cases assisted by the Immigrants' Protective League the plan has been one of permanent resettlement in the homeland. It believes that only rehabilitation or ultimate improvement of status justify family repatriation.

That return will be impossible is indicated in a French woman's appeal to the League: "I am going blind and cannot take care of myself here. My brother's family in Paris have offered to take me in, but I have not money for a steamship ticket. Could you help me raise that much money? I cannot face the prospect of being a charge upon my friends here."

7. *Conditions abroad both favorable and unfavorable.*—In hundreds of instances, reports from abroad indicated that the family's situation would not be improved by their return. There was perhaps far greater poverty there than here. One agency carrying on the investigation ventured the conclusion that "women in Europe would rather have their land than their husbands."

The following letter, while not typical, illustrates not only the ultimate break in family relationships if separation is prolonged but also the meager means of livelihood which prompted the original search for better conditions in America.

If the husband is in a pitiful state, the wife's is no less pitiful—old, with stomach trouble, rheumatism and without the means to live. It is not true that

the son Rocco, residing in America, sends maintenance regularly to the mother; only 50 lire a year at Christmas time, a sum scarcely sufficient to pay the rent of the house that she lives in. What would the husband do back here? In all these years he should have been able to set aside something. He has even done worse; he has sold to a fellow countryman who stayed with him the little house that he owned here. It is useless therefore for him to return to Italy because he would have nothing on which to live, and the wife who formerly possessed something has been forced by necessity to sell everything and now is in the most squalid misery, and if she does not die of hunger it is because of the bread that is given her by her daughter, bread gained by the continuous work of her hands.

In hundreds and hundreds of other instances, however, it was evident that care and shelter did await those who wished to go. Over and over again the Immigrants' Protective League has been impressed with the touching eagerness of relatives or friends over there for the return of the immigrant, even though he may be old, or sick, discouraged, and empty of pocket. "Where there is a piece of bread for us," they write, "there will be one for you too." A woman in Poland said "I am greatly satisfied that my husband is planning to return to me. I know that he is already sixty-four years old, but it would be a great pleasure for me to see him walking about my house, as he is my husband and the father of my children." A son in Poland reported: "I received your letter and give my reply. My farm has six hectares of land. Since I know my sister's family in America is now in a difficult situation, I ask you to send me my mother back. *Please* send my mother back to me." Another son in Poland was not sure that his parents and his family would live well together but believed his parents would be happier there, where "a necessary piece of bread will be assured to them. The native country is better for the old age." A father in Hungary sent the message that he would "gladly support his daughter and granddaughter if they could be sent back." Another father in Denmark said that he was very "willing to give his son and his family support and lodging until he had obtained employment." A mother in the Philippines assured the League's correspondent of her "ready willingness to receive her son and his family," and that she would "be able to provide them with shelter and food on her land, as long as they live there."

Such considerations as the foregoing apply in cases of repatriation

regardless of the source from which the funds are met. If the family here or abroad is not able to meet the expenses of the journey, the cost has been covered, for some of those who applied, by private or by public agencies.

"REMOVAL" AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE

The federal government has approached the proposition of voluntary departure from the United States in three ways: (1) the use of the "removal clause" of the Immigration Act of 1917; (2) the co-operative agreement with the Federal Emergency Relief Administration as to "transportation of the families of deported aliens"; (3) the passage of a special act by the Seventy-fourth Congress providing for the repatriation of Filipinos.

Questions have come to the Immigrants' Protective League from many directions during the last few years, especially from relief workers, as to what the government would do in behalf of persons who wished to leave the United States. Most frequently the questions have come in the following forms: "What does 'removal' mean?" "Who is eligible?" "How is the process instituted and carried out?"

Since so many social workers are concerned with relief, it is of general interest to describe the rôle of the federal government in this connection.

1. *"Removal" under the Act of 1917.*—The Immigration Act of 1917, which is the general federal statute under which the present system of selective immigration is enforced and under which are prescribed most of the classes of persons who are deportable, contains one provision designed for the welfare of the immigrant—section 23. That section provides that

the Commissioner General of Immigration shall have authority to enter into contract for the support and relief of such aliens as may fall into distress or need public aid, and to remove to their native country, at any time within three years after entry, at the expense of the appropriations for the enforcement of this act, such as fall into distress or need public aid from causes arising subsequent to their entry and are desirous of being so removed.

Had the financial disaster which necessitated a general country-wide system of relief not led to federal aid, this special federal au-

thority "to enter into contract for the support and relief of such aliens as may fall into distress" might well have been invoked. Fortunately, although questions have been raised in the course of its administration, the terms of the legislation itself providing federal aid and state aid for poor persons have not distinguished in their benefits between the native- and foreign-born, or between alien and citizen. Attempts to write such unconstitutional discriminations into relief legislation have been checked by constitutional experts who have taken occasion to point out the equality basically guaranteed all persons in the United States—"to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The first clause of section 23 was therefore not needed in the emergency.

The "removal clause" had been occasionally invoked. It had not been called to general public attention, however, or even to that of the inspectors in the Service, until the administration of United States Secretary of Labor William N. Doak, who made an "all high" record in deportations. To open the gate outward also to those who wished to go would, he believed, increase the number of departures, and "rid the country of more aliens." To the chairman of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House of Representatives he explained in a letter (January 4, 1933) that there was a twofold purpose in the removal of such aliens, "namely, relieving the various communities throughout the country of their care and likewise removing them from the competition in the labor market."

On February 19, 1931, he sent out to all the thirty-five districts of the United States Immigration Service a general order (No. 169) under the title "Removal of Aliens under Provision of Section 23 of the Immigration Act of 1917." "The District Directors were instructed to 'enlist the co-operation of charitable agencies' and institutions, both public and private, in the execution of the plan."

Social agencies saw in this order many pitfalls for the alien, as well as possibilities of help. With its advantages run serious limitations. Its use would need to be safeguarded. The arrangements of the government would need to be supplemented. Families who had not yet found it necessary actually to apply for relief, who might be yearning to return to old homes, might, through this means, accomplish such a plan. Others would be afraid to apply, however, because

they would confuse it with the ruthless hunt for aliens who were said to be illegally in the country. The social worker's advice is decidedly needed by those who may wish to consider "removal," as the human problems involved are more important than the availability of funds for the journey.

Eligibility.—The Act of 1917 itself fixes the terms of eligibility. Voluntary return at government expense can be arranged for an alien who (1) has entered the United States within three years and (2) is in distress or in need of public aid from causes arising subsequent to entry. (3) It authorizes removal of aliens only "to their native country," which may not be the country of their citizenship or the country where they are "at home." (4) It does not necessarily include the family of the alien. More than one "native country" is often represented in a family and more than one period of residence in the United States. It does not apply to American-born children. The "removal" of many of those who might wish to go is precluded by statutory provision as to length of residence.

Application form.—A special application was devised (Form 543, "Application for Removal to Native Country")³ which must be filled out by each individual who wishes to go. In a bulletin to its co-operating agencies in May, 1931, the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association described the government's procedure under this order as follows:

On one side, the form calls for exact information as to time of entry (or re-entry); whether lawfully admitted for permanent residence, or for a temporary visit; or whether "entered without inspection"; also whether public aid has been received, or "*if public aid not received,*" then "*circumstances and conditions which render him in need of public aid.*" The reverse side is filled out by "an accredited representative of Public Charitable Institution or Association from which alien named received aid." The form must be sworn to before any person empowered to administer oath, including United States Immigration Inspectors. It must be signed by alien himself. . . . Upon receipt of each application, an investigation is made by immigration agents as to the *conditions of distress* and as to the *status* of such alien. Verification of admission is sought for every applicant claiming to have been lawfully admitted to the United States. After this, the general condition of the alien as reported is considered at the

³ Copies of this form can be obtained from the nearest district office of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service; in Chicago from Mr. Fred J. Schlotfeldt, director of the Chicago District, Post Office Building, Canal and Van Buren streets.

Commissioner's office in Washington, to determine whether or not the alien is "in distress" and should be granted free transportation under this Order.

Passports, where necessary, must be secured by aliens themselves, although the cost thereof when alien is unable to pay may, under certain circumstances, be met from the immigration appropriation.

When an order of removal is received and passport is available, immigration inspectors will proceed to arrange to send the alien forward to the port of departure in much the same manner as aliens are now sent forward under deportation proceedings. This involves attaching the people to the deportation trains which pick up regular deportees at frequent but irregular intervals.

Wherever possible, however, efforts are to be made to arrange with charitable or other public organizations to have alien delivered at the port of embarkation without cost to the government.

Where above is not practicable, attempts are to be made to have organizations provide attendants to accompany aliens on deportation parties.

Care and maintenance of these departing immigrants must be provided for by themselves or by cooperating agencies before the departure from local community to ports of departure. On arrival at the seaports, they will be kept at the immigration detention stations until they are placed on board ship.

Steamship transportation will be purchased by officers of the Immigration Service at seaports, in the same way as it is customarily purchased for "deported" persons and will be handed over to the pursers of vessels on which aliens are to embark but not to the aliens themselves.

Where necessary, also, transportation from the foreign port of disembarkation to the place of actual destination or nearest point thereto will likewise be provided for.

Aliens will be checked out of the country on departure at the seaport districts and record of all aliens returned under arrangements of this order will be kept in the district in which the cases originate.

The government evidently expected a flood of applications when this law began to operate. The Chicago district asked the Immigrants' Protective League for an estimate of the numbers for whom they "should get ready." A flood, however, did not develop. As will be seen from Table III, the annual reports of the commissioner-general of immigration record for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1931, 541 such "removals"; for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1932, 2,637 such "removals."

During the succeeding years since this order went into effect the numbers of "removed" have also been comparatively small. In 1933 "the Service was responsible for . . . the voluntary removal or repatriation of 1,645 aliens under section 23 of the Act of 1917, who had become destitute and applied for return to their native country,

a decrease of 992 from the preceding year."⁴ In 1934, 446 aliens were provided "with transportation to return to their native coun-

TABLE III*

INDIGENT ALIENS RETURNED AT THEIR OWN REQUEST TO THEIR NATIVE LAND, BY RACE OR PEOPLE AND SEX, IN THE UNITED STATES AS A WHOLE FOR THE YEARS ENDED JUNE 30, 1931, AND JUNE 30, 1932

RACE OR PEOPLE	TOTAL 1931	SEX		TOTAL 1932	SEX	
		Male	Female		Male	Female
African (black).....	4	3	1	7	5	2
Bohemian and Moravian (Czech).....	1	1		5	4	1
Bulgarian, Serbian, and Montenegrin.....				49	47	2
Croatian and Slovenian....	8	7	1			
Cuban.....	6	3	3			
Dutch and Flemish.....	40	21	19	134	79	55
English.....	85	65	20	412	269	143
Finnish.....	1	1		9	7	2
French.....	1	1		14	9	5
German.....	77	61	16	268	217	51
Greek.....	2	2		36	34	2
Hebrew.....				4	2	2
Irish.....	33	29	4	222	173	49
Italian.....	41	37	4	306	263	43
Magyar.....				15	12	3
Mexican.....	5	4	1	159	104	55
Polish.....	24	15	9	50	48	2
Rumanian.....				11	10	1
Russian.....	1	1				
Scandinavian (Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes)....	36	32	4	213	181	32
Scotch.....	143	95	48	585	412	173
Slovak.....	6	4	2	9	6	3
Spanish.....	1	1		17	15	2
Spanish American.....	2	1	1	28	15	13
Welsh.....	12	8	4	47	38	9
Other peoples.....	12	10	2	37	32	5
All races.....	541	402	139	2,637	1,982	655

* Compiled from *Annual Report of the U.S. Commissioner General of Immigration to the Secretary of Labor*, 1931, p. 282; *ibid.*, 1932, p. 194.

tries because they were destitute and unable to earn a livelihood in the United States."⁵ The total to date is therefore less than 7,000 persons so removed.

⁴ *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor*, 1933, p. 53.

⁵ *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor*, 1934, p. 65.

The 1933 Appropriation Bill for the Department of Labor provided \$300,000 for "the removal of indigent aliens." The commissioner-general of immigration testified before the House of Representatives Committee on Appropriations (January 27, 1932) that the "average per capita cost of removal was \$84.23."

Illustrations of the use of the "removal" clause.—The Immigrants' Protective League has found that the limitations within section 23 of the Act of 1917 restrict in practice its use for any considerable number of persons.

The first case in which the League invoked it was before the commissioner's order, that of a Russian priest who wished to return, not to his native land—for the allegiance he felt was to its former Czarist régime—but to China. His story was briefly as follows:

He had arrived in this country with his son from Harbin, China, in May, 1930, leaving his wife and another son there until further arrangements could be made. He had borrowed \$500 in Chinese money to pay the passage to Los Angeles, where he had been invited by the bishop who was head of the Russian churches in America. He had expected to find a well-to-do Russian colony there, with a well-supported church, and a large pastor's residence. Such a financial basis was, however, not in evidence. Then he heard from the bishop that a better opportunity might present itself in a Russian church in Chicago. The two came on. But the priest did not please the little congregation to which he was called. Nor did it have sufficient funds for a salary. They paid him \$50.00 monthly for four months, then told him that there was no money. There was a disagreement about the method of collections, with the result that he was stranded with no opportunity to support himself and his son, much less send anything back to his wife and other son in China.

No other Russian church in Chicago seemed to need a priest. He spoke no English. He was exceedingly anxious to leave the country; was absolutely destitute; had not even an overcoat, until one was procured for him from a friend of the League. The United States Immigration Office was asked to examine into his situation. The man felt entirely sure that he would never wish to return to the United States.

By agreement, therefore, among the League, the United States Immigration Service, and the Central Y.M.C.A. which had first called his plight to the League's attention, the man and his son were sent to the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare. Government blanks certifying "Proof that the Alien Has Become a Public Charge" were procured and filled out. The United Charities assisted by securing half-rate railroad fare from Chicago to Seattle. The priest's treatment in the controversy of his church, representing various fac-

tions of the old and new political régime in Russia, amounted almost to exploitation. He looked upon China as a haven from which he would never again depart.

"Removal" in the opposite direction across the Atlantic also instituted before the commissioner's order went into effect, is illustrated by the case of a certain German girl who came to the United States in 1928. "Burning bridges" in the United States weighed less for her against such "removal" than the advantages of return to Germany.

She was only nineteen years old when she left Stuttgart and she had no relatives in this country. She had secured a regular quota visa and made a permanent entry, intending to make her way in the United States. She left her mother in Germany but kept a close correspondence with her. She settled first in New York City. A year or two after her arrival she met a young man from her country. Friendship and attachment sprang up. They were engaged and came on to Chicago together to find work. She became a waitress in a Greek restaurant. There was a wedding ring. They lived together but there was no marriage ceremony. When pregnancy was discovered the man disappeared.

When the girl was forced to stop work her employer's wife took her into their home, gave her a small room and meals. She appealed to the German consul to send her back to her mother. She had written of her situation, and her mother had urged her to come home at once. The German consul sent her to the League for advice and assistance. All the considerations in her problem were carefully discussed. Some plan to locate the father of the coming baby was suggested, with a possible bastardy proceeding if necessary, and arrangement for her own care in a maternity home. But the attachment had faded. The girl wanted her mother more than such a future in Chicago. She said they could live quietly in the country near Mannheim. A doctor called in to examine her said she was able to travel. She had no funds, and her mother's financial resources could not meet the expenses of a steamship ticket.

The League made out for her an application for "removal" at government expense, on the ground that she had "fallen into distress" from "causes arising subsequent to entry." The significance of resorting to this help was carefully explained, and the fact that she could probably never re-enter the United States. She was entirely sure that she never wished to return. Her employer's wife offered to explain to the United States Immigration Office that she was taking care of her and that the girl had no friends in this country. Her application for "removal" was approved by the Commissioner General of Immigration with the promise that she would leave with the next deportation party.

She improved somewhat in health and went back to restaurant work for two days a week. She fell on the stairs. There was a miscarriage. Her departure was delayed. After her recovery she returned to work, to wait for the following

deportation party, and try to contribute toward expenses of room and board. A Russian restaurant keeper became interested in her, knew her story, and wished to marry her. But she persisted in her desire to return to her mother. She left for Germany on the steamship "Berlin" June 25, 1931, happy to leave behind forever her experiences in the United States.

2. *Transportation of the families of deported aliens.*—When the present secretary of labor and the present commissioner-general of immigration came into office in 1933, and found that the Department had been deporting heads of families, leaving their non-deportable members behind for American communities to support, immediate steps were taken to check such procedure. An agreement was easily effected between the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. A "memorandum" was sent in August, 1933, "To all Governors and State Emergency Relief Administrators" from the office of the federal administrator, Mr. Harry L. Hopkins, which, in co-operation with the commissioner-general, Colonel Daniel William MacCormack, set up the following plan:

Under the immigration laws of the United States it is frequently necessary to deport aliens, but funds have not heretofore been available to include the families of aliens so deported. The consequence is that such families frequently become public charges.

Through the cooperation of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Bureau of Immigration of the United States Department of Labor, this condition is to be corrected as a relief measure, and in the interest of humanity.

The Bureau of Immigration has agreed to conduct the preliminary investigations as to the necessity and desirability of furnishing transportation to the families of aliens ordered deported, and to assume the responsibility for supervising their transportation within the United States, and will endeavor to make such arrangements as may be possible for the supervision of their transportation from the foreign port of arrival to their ultimate destination, and their reabsorption into the place to which sent.

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration has agreed to assist in financing this undertaking. The State Emergency Relief Administrations are authorized to meet, from grants made, or to be made from Federal relief funds, expenses incurred in carrying out the following procedure:

1. The immigration officer conducting the hearing under warrant proceedings will ascertain whether the alien concerned has needy dependents who are desirous of accompanying him or her, as the case may be, in the event deportation is ordered.

2. Where the desirability of the transportation of such families is established, the immigration officer in charge of the district will communicate with the appropriate State Emergency Relief Administrator and furnish him with the full details of the case, and the amount necessary to furnish the transportation, from the place where the family is located to their foreign destination. The State Emergency Relief Administrator, *after his own investigation and approval*, will forward a check or checks to the immigration officer in charge, payable to the appropriate transportation agencies to cover the cost of such transportation, together with a draft, not to exceed \$5.00 per person, payable in the country to which the persons concerned are to be sent. In States where there is existing machinery for the investigation of the status of aliens and their families, the State Emergency Relief Administration should make use of such machinery.

3. Upon the receipt of the checks the immigration district head will cause to be purchased the necessary transportation, which will be delivered over to the officer in charge of the party conveying the family to the port of embarkation, where overseas deportation is involved, or to the border port of departure, where deportation is to foreign contiguous countries.

4. The officer in charge of the party will, coincident with furnishing a memorandum covering meals furnished deportees, give to the railway traveling agent a memorandum covering meals furnished the dependent families, together with a notice of the proper State Emergency Relief Administrator to be billed for these meals. All such memoranda and bills are to be sent to the immigration district head for his approval before payment is to be made by the State Emergency Relief Administration.

5. Where meals are furnished the dependents at immigration stations at ports of departure, a record will be kept and the commissary contractor will be notified of the particular State Emergency Relief Administrator to be billed. These bills are to be submitted to the immigration district head at the port where the meals are furnished for his approval before payment by the State Emergency Relief Administrator.

6. The draft made payable in the country to which the dependent families are to be sent will be made out in favor of the head of the family or of some member thereof, as determined by the officer in charge of the district where the case originated, and turned over to the person designated by the immigration officer in charge at the port of departure when the family is delivered on board ship, or is placed across the border, and proper receipt obtained therefor.

7. Immigration officers will endeavor to obtain the necessary passports and visas, securing from the State Emergency Relief Administrator in advance the funds required.

The foregoing plan contemplates that State Emergency Relief Administrators will furnish the needy families with clothing and such other necessary equipment as they lack.

The location of district offices of the Bureau of Immigration and the titles of the officers in charge are appended to this memorandum.

From the social-service standpoint it is seen that this agreement was important because it concerned the deportee's "needy dependents who are desirous of accompanying him or her,"—the Relief Service to determine the need; because the condition at which it was aimed was "to be corrected as a relief measure, and in the interest of humanity"; and because the government set out "to make such arrangements as may be possible for . . . their reabsorption into the place to which sent."

This agreement might have been much more important from the "voluntary deportation" standpoint had not the policy of the Department of Labor with respect to compulsory deportation taken on aspects of more humanity and justice at the hands of the new administration and had not the economic pressure begun to lift. The agreement is beneficent, however, and should be continued as a federal policy even after the emergency passes.

3. *Repatriation of Filipinos.*—The federal government's third step to aid toward repatriation was the passage by the Congress of a special act regarding Filipinos, effective July 10, 1935. It identified its character by prescribing (sec. 7) that "no Filipino removed . . . under the provisions . . . shall hereafter be held to have been deported from the United States."

Its terms are unusual. Unlike the "removal clause" of the Act of 1917, it makes no specification as to the length of residence in the United States. It applies to "any native Filipino residing in any State or the District of Columbia *on the effective date of this Act*, who desires to return to the Philippine Islands." It will not therefore apply to any new Filipino "immigrants" who may come to the United States.

There is, moreover, an expiration date. An amendment (H.R. 999, 74th Cong.) to this act, approved June 4, 1936, extends its period of operation for another year, but provides:

SEC. 6. No application for the benefits of this Act shall be accepted by any officer of the Immigration Service after December 1, 1937; and all benefits under this Act shall finally terminate on December 31, 1937, unless the journey has been started on or before that date, in which case the journey to Manila shall be completed.

At one time the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the United States War Department was able, through the courtesy of the United States Shipping Board, to obtain opportunities for self-supporting Filipino students to work their way from New York to Manila. It later advised, however, that owing to a new form of operating agreement this practice was no longer possible. The Immigrants' Protective League had been successful with a Filipino case in 1929 in making arrangements, through the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department, for the return of a Filipino patient in the hospital of a cargo vessel, the "City of Elwood," belonging to the United States Shipping Board.

Pressure upon the Congress to enact this measure (H.R. 6464, 74th Cong.), introduced by a representative said to be "anti-Filipino," came chiefly from California, which claimed to have "40 per cent of the 65,000 Filipino population of the United States"; from Chicago, where the numbers of Filipinos were estimated at 5,000—urged as a welfare measure—and from Filipino organizations throughout the country. The new Philippine Independence Act approved March 24, 1934, long awaited by the Islands, made the homeland appear theoretically more desirable to some.

But this bill came too late. It was passed as an "emergency measure" after the emergency had passed. Other similar ones had failed of passage in the Seventy-second and Seventy-third Congresses. The numbers that have made use of this special Act are small—only thirteen during the first year, from Chicago. It is said that poverty-stricken Filipinos on the west coast were "threatened with the Act" and therefore "took advantage" of it in larger numbers. This special Repatriation Act practically bars re-entry, moreover, by stipulating:

SEC. 4. No Filipino who receives the benefits of this Act shall be entitled to return to the continental United States except as a quota immigrant under the provisions of section 8(a) (1) of the Philippine Independence Act of March 24, 1934, during the period such section 8(a) (1) is applicable.

Bleak as their situation is in Chicago and in other Filipino centers in the United States, to suffer through the rest of the depression seems preferable in their eyes to no return in the future.

The director of the Filipino Community Center in Chicago believes that in this community "only the hopeless cases have applied

for repatriation under this Act." The fact, as he says, that "in Chicago 90 per cent of the Filipinos are students" and that "with returning prosperity the services of Filipinos are beginning to be in demand again" means that this method of transportation across the Pacific will not be in any large degree brought into play.

METHODS TO PURSUE IN REPATRIATION CASES

The foregoing discussion of the social considerations in repatriation and of the government's part in the movement have already suggested certain of the methods to pursue. So constant have been the inquiries as to the way in which repatriation should be carried out that the following summary of the methods evolved is here incorporated. They represent the worker's practical guide to action.

1. Talk over as completely as possible with the client, when first interviewed, all the considerations which make him wish to return to another country. Just what prospects has he there? What is his exact situation here? What relatives has he there and here to assist him? *Get exact addresses.* Ask him to write in his own handwriting, so that they may be identified abroad. Ask him for his most recent correspondence with members of the family abroad. Make copies for case record. If his knowledge of English is limited, be sure that he is interviewed in his native language or in a language with which he is entirely familiar.

2. *Clear the case with the Social Service Exchange at once.*

3. Write the International Migration Service,⁶ the National Catholic Welfare Conference,⁷ some Red Cross chapter abroad,⁸ or some other agency with an office abroad, and have an investigation made at the point to which he wishes to return.

4. Make a social investigation in the American community and interview other adult members of the family in a visit to the home.

5. Make out on paper a careful repatriation budget, with an itemized list of estimated receipts and estimated expenditures for railroad and steamship fare, bus and streetcar fare, food, clothing, etc.⁹

6. Pending the report from abroad as to the advisability of return, take up with the proper foreign consul the question of rebates on the ocean fare and of remission of any charges for renewal of passports. Find out as to visas and charges.

⁶ 122 E. Twenty-second St., New York, N.Y.

⁷ 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.

⁸ American Red Cross, Seventeenth and D, Washington, D.C.

⁹ A copy of the form used by the Immigrants' Protective League (824 S. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.) will be supplied on request.

7. Ascertain, after canvassing the various steamship lines which might be used, which one will furnish the lowest ocean fare.

8. Consult the proper consul, also, regarding remission of railroad fare from the border to the country and to the town to which the client wishes to travel.

9. Secure a half-fare over the railroad from Chicago to the port of embarkation in this country, through one of the local relief agencies which have signed the transportation agreement with the railroads. The channel through which this half-fare authorization is secured will perhaps depend upon the Social Service Bureau registration of agencies interested.

10. Enlist the interest of foreign societies, churches, lodges, and representative individuals of the nationality, or past employers in making contributions toward specific items in the repatriation budget.

11. Make sure that each member of the family is provided with proper clothing for the journey.

12. Before the client leaves Chicago, he must visit the United States Collector of Internal Revenue in the Federal Building, Chicago, and obtain income tax clearance (Form 1040-C).¹⁰

13. Arrange the train schedule so that the client leaves Chicago with just enough time, but with plenty of time, to make connections with the boat at the port. Obviate, if possible, the expense of overnight lodging in any other city. Route him the shortest or most direct way.

14. Arrange in advance, so that he will receive personal embarkation assistance from the Traveler's Aid Society or some other appropriate agency.

15. Write the foreign correspondent immediately upon the client's departure.

Revenue tax.—An interesting point as to one item of expense was brought to light by the League in cases in which funds were furnished to the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. There is a United States revenue tax, usually five dollars each, on steamship tickets. The federal government was thus exacting this tax with one hand and paying it out of the other. When the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission was apprized of the fact, that body immediately communicated with the United States Department of the Treasury as other state relief commissions also found it to their interest to do, so that repatriation budgets might be reduced by the amount of this tax.

Railroad fare reductions.—The "transportation agreement" between certain social agencies and the railroads in the United States

¹⁰ Can be secured from the United States Collector of Internal Revenue in the Federal Building, Chicago.

also affects a repatriation budget. From Chicago, for instance, to New York City, the usual point of embarkation, the saving in fare is appreciable. Under this agreement the Trunk Line Association and the Central Passenger Association describe beneficiaries as follows:

The reduced fares authorized herein will apply only for bona fide needy beneficiaries of Charity Organizations listed in this tariff, each case to be carefully and fully investigated by the organization to determine that the charity subject is unquestionably in need of the assistance before requesting the reduced fare, and also for attendants when necessary to accompany the beneficiaries as provided.¹¹

Because it is not a relief organization and does not itself pay the railroad fare, the Immigrants' Protective League relies upon the co-operating relief agencies in Chicago, whose clients it assists, to contract for these "charity tickets" to the port.

Reduced railroad fares abroad are not infrequently authorized by the appropriate foreign consul in Chicago or New York. That privilege, as well as the reductions on ocean fare, depends in large measure upon the extent to which rail and steamship lines are operated or owned, subsidized or regulated, by the foreign government in point. In a Jamaican case the British consulate reported:

The Colonial Government had taken a liberal attitude in permitting the entry of these children, all of whom appeared to have become American citizens, although two were born on British soil and still had the option, when they came of age, to resume British nationality. The Government had gone even further and had expressed its willingness to advance a portion of the travelling expenses of the children.

Another factor which may pertain to the budget, but more probably to the comfort and convenience and safety of the travelers, is the matter of direct routing to the port. In the old days of mass immigration much hardship and exploitation arose out of the evil of "indirect routing" westward from the ports of arrival. This consideration, aside from transport of baggage, is almost as important when the travel is eastward. Railroad lines should be chosen which will bring the emigrant nearest to the pier, in New Jersey or New York, from which the steamship is to sail.

¹¹ *Reduced Fares*, p. 3. (Pamphlet issued by Central Passenger Association, Room 1943, Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.)

Before the administration of relief became federal, funds were not readily available for the repatriation of needy persons. Even after they became federal there were never enough public funds in Chicago and Cook County to send home all who might with benefit to themselves and the community have been returned to other countries.

The first state repatriation fund in Illinois.—The Immigrants' Protective League began a demonstration as to the possibilities of returning the foreign-born to their homelands in the spring of 1931. The considerations pointing toward repatriation were presented to Governor Louis Emmerson's Commission on Unemployment and Relief in December, 1930, and a fund of \$1,000 was granted to the League to show what might be done for some of the foreign-born whose ties with the "old country" had not been broken.

This is the only repatriation fund that has been administered outright by the Immigrants' Protective League. Subsequent funds have been transmitted from relief agencies for specific families or individuals whose departure was arranged by the League. Although later funds merely cleared through the books, the amount of these transmittals reached the substantial figure of \$13,000 in 1935.

Illustrative cases in the use of the "governor's fund."—The first four cases repatriated through the assistance of the governor's commission are interesting not only because they went to three different continents and an island but because they were experimental as to the methods employed and pointed the way to the type of assistance needed also by others. The League "learned how" by assisting these first ones to go.

1. REPATRIATION OF AN EAST INDIAN CIVIL ENGINEER

Racial background.—Cases of Hindus or East Indians are among the comparatively rare nationalities in Chicago. A serious problem, affecting a young man of Bengali origin, was brought to the Immigrants' Protective League by the Chicago Urban League. That very fact illustrated the first discrimination which this young man faced. He was born in Calcutta—Aryan as to stock. But the group with which he found himself identified in Chicago was the agency specializing in the welfare of Negroes.

Immigration status.—This man had come to the United States in 1926, on a student's visa, admissible as a non-quota immigrant, under the exception granted to aliens ineligible to citizenship because of race, if they could qualify

as students in the "accredited schools" approved by the United States Department of Labor. He did so qualify, matriculated in the University of Michigan, and graduated with the class of 1930 as a civil engineer. He made a creditable record and applied for an extension of his permit in order to secure practical engineering experience before leaving the country. Although his request was made through the vice-president and secretary of the University of Michigan, it was denied by the Department of Labor. His classmates had secured positions, but he found it difficult to obtain any opening, even of supervised apprentice nature, ostensibly because of the unemployment situation. Such an opportunity might have been construed by the department as maintaining student status. The young man seemed happily unconscious of the fact that his dark skin might have had anything to do with it. His pride in his place of birth and racial heritage gave him, on the contrary, self-confidence and a sense of superiority. It seemed well that he should leave the United States before the color discrimination might stifle his ambition and substitute hampering feelings of inferiority. He was anxious to pursue graduate work at some future time in the United States. To have permitted him to be deported because of abandonment of student status might have banished him forever from the United States, and would have fastened upon him in his own country a stigma which would have crippled his professional chances at the start.

Repatriation plan.—The League set about ways and means to help him back to India. It learned that his parents lived in Calcutta. His father was a tailor, and family funds were meager. The British consul was seen, the validity of a British passport ascertained, and a conditional ocean charity rate secured. Steamship lines were canvassed to discover the shortest and cheapest route. Inquiries were made as to possibilities of help from Hindu organizations. The Traveler's Aid Society secured permission for him to travel on a half-rate ticket to New York. Connections were established with the University of Michigan clubs of Chicago and New York. The boy's good record at their Alma Mater made them friendly and generous. One Michigan alumnus paid for his board and room at the colored branch of the Young Men's Christian Association while negotiations were pending. The possibility of securing some funds for his repatriation through the grant of the governor's commission was persuasive with the president of the University of Michigan Club of Chicago. That organization finally raised a \$125 "loan" for him, \$90 of which was to be applied on his steamship fare, the remainder to be used to settle other obligations before his departure. The Club sent a personal appeal, moreover, to the New York Club, asking similar help to make up the budget. From the Governor's Commission on Unemployment and Relief, \$75 was allotted through the Immigrants' Protective League. The total sum required for his return was estimated at \$280.85. The balance on hand, after purchase of ticket to New York, was sent by the League directly to the designated Michigan alumnus in New York, and the young man left Chicago on the first lap of his journey, on February 20,

1931, with full information as to sailings for England, and from Liverpool to Bombay.

At two points en route beyond New York he hoped for help toward future employment. The High Commissioner for India, in London, was a man from his own city, Calcutta, who he felt sure would be able to "open some doors" for him back in India. The League also wrote to this official in his behalf. When this young engineer reached Persia, where he had stopped for a time on his way to the United States, he had relatives who could help him. He was gallant and resourceful and winning. There was every reason to believe that he would "make good," and that his best opportunity in that direction lay in his mother country, where his education in the United States might make him a leader.

2. REPATRIATION OF A CZECHOSLOVAK WHO HAD BECOME AN AMERICAN CITIZEN

European background.—From the American Red Cross came the question as to repatriation for a man of Czechoslovak birth, whose wife had written from the home village asking if he could be sent back to her. They had no children. She was alone and anxious that their later years be spent together. There was a little farm where they could work and make a simple living. Her letters made plain the advantages of reunion there.

Immigration to the United States.—The man had come to the United States before the war, secured work with the Crane Company and later with the Western Electric. Travel was cut off by the war before he could send for his wife. The first quota act, passed soon after the war, made it difficult for her to secure a visa. He took out his declaration of intention. Then the present Immigration Act went into effect, making it necessary for him to become a full citizen before he could send for his wife outside the quota. He did complete his naturalization the same year, 1924. But there were work accidents—once while employed by the superintendent of Humboldt Park and again while working for a printing company. In both cases the time for a claim under the Workmen's Compensation Act expired before he was aware that there might have been a possibility of collecting funds. He began to break mentally, to become fixed in his ideas, and slow of speech. He had been out of work for months and could not hold a job. He cooked his own meals, ate very little, and grew more and more depressed. Finally, the physicians reported that he could no longer adjust himself mentally, pronounced a definite psychosis, and recommended a return if possible to his homeland and wife.

Repatriation process.—The man's church was found to be interested and ready to help. One of the Brothers accompanied him to the Passport Bureau, where he paid, from a small amount of cash which he had in his pocket, \$6.00 for the United States passport. The League visitor obtained a remission of charges of \$1.20 for French and Czechoslovak visa fees, "shopped around" among steamship lines and found the most advantageous rates on the French

Line for a sailing on the "Rochambeau," March 11, 1931. Since the man was an American citizen, foreign consuls could not authorize a charity rate on a foreign line. The Czechoslovak consul assured him, however, that his United States citizenship would be no disadvantage in his own homeland.

The Traveler's Aid Society secured half-rate on the railroad fare from Chicago to New York. St. Procopius Church paid the half-fare, covered the baggage transfer, gave the man money for food not provided, and promised to pay after his departure the debts for gas and rent which had accumulated with his landlady. The raising of contributions from past employers was attempted but without result. The balance of expenses for the journey, \$107.74, was paid by the Governor's Commission on Unemployment and Relief, through the Immigrants' Protective League. The League introduced him to another Czechoslovak from Chicago who chanced to have booked passage on the same boat. The Traveler's Aid Society promised to meet him at Jersey City, take him across the ferry, and put him aboard. The League wrote to the Czechoslovak Red Cross back in Prague, asking that this organization see this couple and befriend them as needed.

Report from abroad.—During the summer of 1931 a report reached the League from the Czechoslovak Red Cross which noted a happy ending. The husband, they write, "returned safely home on March 29th. He was greeted with great joy by his wife; she was always longing for her husband's return but he never wrote about it; she was very glad to have him come home. He is working now in the field and feels much better. He owns about 10 acres of land and a house. He is in good health and feels very happy in his family."

3. A GREEK FAMILY HELPED TO RETURN TO THE ISLAND OF CRETE

Shortly after the war, in 1920, a Greek man and his wife had come to Chicago from the classic island of Crete and settled in the Greek colony on the West Side. Employment was found with a large refracting company, and for almost six years the man worked as a skilled molder—for a considerable period in the company's plant at Joliet. Their little son George was placed in the Greek-American School in Chicago. His father took out his declaration of intention to become a citizen of the United States.

Then an accident happened in the shop. His spine was broken in the injury he sustained, and he finally became totally disabled. No "light work" could be found in this period of unemployment. The company paid workmen's compensation in a lump sum, on which the family lived as long as it lasted. Then they were compelled to apply for relief. The United Greek Charities of Chicago were able to give only a very small sum, \$3.00-\$6.00 per month. The Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare granted \$25 per month in lieu of a mother's pension. Rent ran many months in arrears. The family became destitute.

Back in Crete there was a small piece of land and a house which an uncle invited this little family to share, and where he thought they might make a living if they could find some way to return. The man came to the League to ask how it might be done. The Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare purchased half-rate tickets to New York. The Greek Church gave \$5.00. The man saved what he could for food and incidental traveling expenses from the sale of their meager furniture. The League collected some clothing. Through the Greek consul in Chicago the National Steam Navigation Company reduced rates of ocean fare to \$75 per capita, so that an expenditure of \$188 from the grant of the Governor's Commission on Unemployment and Relief, in addition to the amounts from other sources, carried this little family back to a place where they hoped to "get on their feet again." They sailed on the steamship "Byron" on May 20, 1931.

They had made a gallant struggle in this country and had won their way to independence and self-respect, until overcome by physical injury. In this community there was no prospect except charity. In the one to which they went there were means of rehabilitation. The League asked the International Migration Service, moreover, to assist in their readjustment there, after their ten years of absence in the United States.

4. REPATRIATION OF A MEXICAN BUTCHER AND HIS WIFE

A beet field worker.—The last wave of immigrants, the Mexicans, because of their strangeness to customs and conditions in this country, have been at a special disadvantage in the present economic depression. Among those who have shipped out to the beet fields of neighboring states was a Mexican who has lived with his wife between seasons on the West Side in Chicago. She had come with him from Mexico City a few years ago, hoping that they might better themselves in this country. But the beet field money had not lasted through the winter without other work. The man had sought it daily, until he had become utterly discouraged. The League sent him to an English class at Hull-House to improve his chances of employment; gave him letters to possible employers; found some work for his wife, cleaning the clinic in the nearby Mexican Health Center. The Spanish Mission gave them a little food. But they suffered from lack of heat in their rooms and found it difficult to secure help because there were no children in the family. The man grew desperate.

Advantages of a return to Mexico.—His wife began to lose weight and finally became ill. They wrote to her mother in Mexico City, who offered to take them in if they could get back. Their relatives had no money, however, for their fare. The husband had worked for many years as a butcher in Mexico City for an employer with a chain of meat markets who was always satisfied with his work and who, he was confident, would make a place for him at once. The young man was pleasant and genial, one who makes friends wherever he goes.

Co-operation toward repatriation.—The Mexican Consul promised a rebate of the railroad fare from the border at Laredo, as far as Irapuato. The Salvation Army secured authorization of half-rate tickets to the border. The Catholic Charities contributed \$15 toward the Mexican railroad fare from Irapuato to Mexico City. The Mexican Blue Cross and Mexican Health Center contributed the amount necessary for food on the journey. The man's English teacher at Hull-House, from the Chicago Board of Education, bought them clothing. The balance of the expenses for this couple, \$62.61, was met by the Governor's Commission on Unemployment and Relief, acting through the Immigrants' Protective League. They left Chicago March 9, 1931, touchingly grateful for their chance to go back where the conditions of life are less stern and where countrymen and relatives would help them to become re-established and independent again.

Investigations abroad.—The International Migration Service has made hundreds of investigations in many countries abroad, at the request of the Immigrants' Protective League, to determine the advisability of returning to them certain individuals and families in Chicago. Such co-operation represents one phase of international case work. Among the other agencies which have assisted are: the National Catholic Welfare Conference, in many countries; American Hospital, Resht, Persia; Albanian Red Cross, Tirana; Community House of the American Board Mission, Sofia, Bulgaria; Czechoslovak Red Cross, Prague; Danish Red Cross, Copenhagen; International Missionary Council, Canton, China; Yugoslav Red Cross, Belgrade; Greek Red Cross, Athens; Spanish Red Cross, Madrid; Swedish Red Cross, Stockholm; and the Young Men's Christian Association, Canton, China.

It is a high privilege for social agencies to become the medium of communication within the family circle—in transmitting, for instance, the tender message of a daughter who assured the International Migration Service that she wanted "to keep her mother till the end of her life," and inquired impatiently:

Could you be so kind to let me know in what state is the affair of my mother's journey to Poland? It seems to go very slow and does not advance at all. I was expecting my mother for Christmas and till now she did not arrive. I suppose she did not leave as yet United States and I start to be anxious because of her.

The National Catholic Welfare Conference reported for a mother in the Irish Free State that the good news that her son was alive had "put new heart into the old woman."

In some cases the investigation has been made through official channels: the foreign consuls in Chicago or New York, the United States consul at some point outside the country, or the foreign government at its seat abroad.

The Mexican government has been especially quick to co-operate not only in investigations but in resettlement. There was widespread publicity of an offer from the government to furnish transportation from the border to the interior of the country and, upon arrival, the opportunity to make a livelihood by work upon the land. Repatriation trains that moved inward to various provinces were made up at Laredo and other points at one time once a week. The Mexican emigration was encouraged also on a rather wholesale basis by certain relief agencies, notably those in California, in Detroit, and in Gary. But, on the whole, urging was not necessary. Thousands of Mexicans followed the first repatriates home. In fact, as previous figures have indicated, 1932 saw a virtual caravan southward, by automobile and truck and rail and "hitch hiking." Many a family spent their last savings on an old Ford car which they hoped would at least take them as far as the border. If they had worked for a railroad in the United States, as many had done, they were often able to procure passes.

The consideration that made the transportation of the Mexicans most difficult was the determination to which they clung to take with them their sewing machines and radios, their painted beds and mattresses. It was a reversal from the days when immigrants arrived from Europe with all their pillows and feather beds. Some Lares and Penates usually accompany migration.

COUNTRIES TO WHICH REPATRIATES HAVE BEEN SENT

The emigrants assisted to leave Chicago have been fairly representative of the various nationalities departing in the general homeward stream from the United States as a whole. During the last five years the Immigrants' Protective League has been directly responsible for the return of individuals and families to the following thirty-five countries: Albania, Austria, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Free City of Danzig, England, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, Hungary,

India, Ireland, Irish Free State, Italy, Jamaica, Yugoslavia, Lithuania, Mexico, Norway, Philippine Islands, Poland, Porto Rico, Russia, Scotland, Sweden, Switzerland, and Tunis, North Africa.

Contrary to propaganda in certain quarters that "the unemployed do not want to work," the League's experience in repatriation indicates that employment is longed for and that to the foreign-born a basic reason for departure is the prospect of work abroad.

Most of those who have gone, of course, returned to work upon their own or their family's or friends' farms and truck gardens, fields and pastures, in the vineyards and in the olive orchards. Many a *contadino* has resumed his farm work in Italy.

A wife in Poland who was "enthusiastic about her husband's return" hoped that it would be "arranged as quickly as possible, as it is already springtime and the work on the farm begins."

A father from the Aegean wrote his son that not only would there be a wife waiting for him if he would return but also a flock of sheep, and that he might become a herdsman in the hills of Greece.

A mother in the same country quickly assured the Greek Red Cross that "she very much desired to have her son return and asked us to hasten his coming. She also informed us that he has here a good-sized property and will be able to live well without becoming a public charge in our community."

Another report from Greece mentioned the "man's little property in a village" where "he may also work on others' property if a man has not enough of his own," adding that "there is a school for his children to attend."

In Italy one of the repatriates expected to proceed at once to his sister's sixty-acre farm where he "would assist them in raising stock and in the culture of grapes." They awaited "impatiently the day when they would with much joy again see him after thirty years' absence."

Of all those who wished to take up occupations again in the "old country," none have been more eager than the Irish from the island of Arranmore, beloved by the poet Yeats. One of them suggested to the League's worker that "he would not mind having any food from Chicago to New York if that would help in the budget, because he would have food on the boat." Another said that he "would be glad

to walk home to Arranmore from the Irish port if he could just get across the ocean." When asked how far it was, he said "seventy-five miles." Needless to say, he was not permitted to depart until funds for the whole journey were in hand. For these men it meant the life of the sea again, "fishing in season" or "when the herring come."

The experience of placement of emigrants in occupations and industries abroad has been convincing as to the possibilities of rehabilitation. It would be dangerous, however, to assume that repatriation should be generally applied, even as an individual case method and "solution." It would be far from socially desirable as a wholesale policy.

By no means all who return are happy in their readjustments to those simpler surroundings. Some are bitterly disappointed and homesick for America. But from many quarters of the globe come letters of appreciation with assurances that permanent shelter and care has been found; that various kinds of employment have been secured, as expected, and that self-support has again been achieved.

It is encouraging to the social agency itself to be assured, as in a letter from York, that a man now over there will cherish "its wonderful friendship and kindness at a time when real friends were very scarce indeed"; or to hear from an old Chinese who had returned to his wife in a village far up the Yangtze River that in his remote little community "he would now be a messenger of good will from America."

More than the judgment in a case plan is confirmed by such a letter as the following from a daughter in Poland:

After the return of my father, I feel it is my duty to thank you and the International Organization in Chicago for the care and help given to my father. I have not enough words to thank you for the help that you have extended to my father during the time that he was so depressed, ill and unemployed, and not in a position to earn even his transportation back home. . . .

I am an employee of the railroad and my only income is my pension. It is rather difficult for me but he has a roof over his head, food and care, and is happy and contented that he returned to his home country.

I did not know that there across the Atlantic are such honorable and charitable leagues which take care of countrymen. It is a great deed of kindness to those who are in need of care. I am so very grateful for the words of courage which you have given my father. He has spoken of you very frequently, how

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kindly you treated him when he would come to the office, how good you were to him and how encouragingly you always spoke of him. He remembers it all and has begged me to write to you these few lines. . . .

The Immigrants' Protective League has in its files hundreds and hundreds of letters that are rich in the personal history of those who have braved both immigration and emigration. Those that brought a story of hardship and poverty abroad are not used in this article because they did not eventuate in repatriation. In such instances the plan was abandoned and those who had wished to go settled down to make the best of their situation in this country, hard though it might be.

As the depression wanes, emigration will wane and the tide of immigration again flow toward America. Repatriation as a case "solution" is one chapter of the special adaptations of social work to the economic emergency. Perhaps it has pointed the way toward the international organization of public welfare.

IMMIGRANTS' PROTECTIVE LEAGUE
CHICAGO

PUBLIC PROVISION FOR THE MENTALLY ILL IN COLONIAL AMERICA

ALBERT DEUTSCH

NEITHER the cultural nor material conditions of early colonial America offered fertile ground for the introduction and development of a liberal, well-integrated system of social welfare that would include special provision for persons handicapped by physical, mental, and economic ills. The settlements were generally sparse and scattered, populated for the most part by an impecunious people who lived on the ragged edge of existence, struggling to wrench a bare living from the soil. In these circumstances they were too likely to be burdened with their own immediate problems of existence to give much thought to the welfare of their more needy neighbors. A certain degree of communal stabilization and a relatively close gathering of people in large groups are indispensable requisites for the development of a permanent welfare system of well-rounded proportions: in the colonial settlements these were lacking.

In accordance with the dominant ideology at home and abroad, the sufferings of the handicapped members of the community were generally looked upon as the natural consequences of a stern unbending Providence, meting out judgment to the wicked and the innately inferior. Contempt, cold and narrow, rather than sympathy and understanding, characterized the attitudes toward the dependent classes. Public provision for the latter was based not so much upon humane considerations as upon expediency and economy. The individual in need of assistance was likely to receive public attention only when his condition was looked upon as a social danger or a public nuisance—and he was then “disposed of” rather than helped.

These general attitudes and conditions were reflected and accentuated in provisions for the insane, both private and public. Mentally ill persons who had relatively well-to-do families or friends were usually cared for in their own homes. In the rare instances

when the affliction was recognized as a disease, produced not by supernatural intervention but by natural causes and hence amenable to curative measures, they received the doubtful benefits of whatever medical treatment was available. Such treatment was as likely to be administered by a clergyman or a civil officer as a physician. Colonial medicine was based largely on a mélange of Galenism and grandmother remedies, generously mixed with astrological and demonological lore. If violent or troublesome, even the propertied insane were without compunction locked up and chained by their families in strong-rooms, cellars, and even in flimsy out-houses. In some cases, where the illness manifested itself in a mild and harmless manner, the individual was permitted a degree of freedom of movement. But often enough even harmless persons were confined for years on end in attic rooms, very much like Sam Evans' aunt in O'Neill's *Strange Interlude*, so that the family "disgrace" might be hidden from the public eye. Until the last quarter-century of the colonial period there were no hospitals where they might be cared for. Not until 1752 was the first general hospital opened, while the first asylum for the exclusive reception of the insane was built two decades later.

The plight of the propertied insane ordinarily came to the public notice only in so far as their estates were concerned. Significant in this respect is the fact that several of the colonies passed laws regarding the estates of insane persons long before enacting legislation concerned with their personal well-being. This condition harked back to the days of Ciceronian Rome, when elaborate provisions were made for the protection of an insane man's property while none at all existed for the protection of his person. The responsibility for determining insanity was always placed in the hands of civil officers—never of medical men—and the guardianship of estates was variously intrusted to governors, town selectmen, churchwardens, vestrymen, justices of the peace, etc., depending on the civil set-up of the several colonies.

So much for mentally ill persons who were not dependent on the public for economic assistance. As for the dependent insane, their lot was harsher still. By a peculiar twist of logic (which has not been completely dispelled in our day) those afflicted with mental

disease were generally treated as if they had been thereby stripped of all human attributes, together with their rights and privileges as human beings. This pernicious and all-too-prevailing attitude was bluntly summed up by a well-known English jurist of the early eighteenth century who did not hesitate to liken a "madman" to a "brute or a wild beast."

When insanity was publicly recognized, it was usually for the purpose of punishing or repressing the individual; when it was not, indifference to his fate was the dominating note. There was no uniform theory for dealing with the mentally ill. They were disposed of in a number of ways. Provision was of the rough and ready nature that characterized pioneer life: individual cases were considered and decided on as they arose. A number of factors were here involved, among the principal ones being the size, civic set-up, and economic condition of the community, the degree of social consciousness in its inhabitants, and the type of mental illness manifested in each case. The "violent" insane among public dependents were ordinarily treated as common criminals, while the "harmless" were disposed of in a manner differing only in degree of severity from that accorded to all other paupers. The latter cases were hardly more fortunate than the former, for, in colonial times and long after, pauperism was looked upon as merely a lesser type of crime.

Public provision, in so far as it was extended to the mentally ill, was mainly directed to the problem of safely disposing of violent cases. Incarceration in jail was the common solution. But there were many localities which could not boast the luxury of a jail in the early days, when the pillory, the whipping post, and the gallows—all placed conveniently near the courthouse—afforded simple and inexpensive means for punishing the refractory in short order. Such a lack of institutional accommodation, however, was not likely to deter our ingenious forefathers. Thus, the first known provision for the mentally ill in Pennsylvania, mentioned in the Upland Court records of 1676, took the following form:

Jan Vorenelissen, of Amesland, Complayning to ye Court that his son Eric is bereft of his naturall Senses and is turned quyt madd and yt, he being a poore man is not able to maintaine him; Ordered: that three or four persons bee hired to build a little block-house at Amesland for to put in the said madman.¹

¹ *Upland (Delaware County) Court Records, 1676, p. 81.*

To meet the cost of building the blockhouse and the maintenance of Eric, a small tax was levied on the community. No less enterprising were the inhabitants of the town of Braintree, Massachusetts, who in 1689 voted that "Samuel Speere should build a little house 7 foote long and 5 foote wide and set it by his house to secure his Sister good wife Witty being distracted & provide for her."²

The town obligated itself to repay the said Samuel Speere the expenses of maintaining his sister in this kennel-like habitation. Likewise, in New York a special structure was ordered to be built in 1677 for the incarceration of Peter Paull, a "lunatick," who was to "Bee confined into prison in the hold" pending the completion of the stronghouse for his special care.³ Whether this one-man asylum was ever built, the records do not reveal.

We learn in the later annals of New York that the city jail was considered quite a satisfactory place for the custody of the insane. In 1725 the town marshal, Robert Crannell, Jr., was paid two shillings six pence a week by the churchwardens "for to Subsist Robert Bullman a Madman in Prison."⁴ Not infrequently the unfortunate person spent decades incarcerated like a common criminal. But when some hope was held out for his recovery, only temporary confinement was ordered. In 1720, for example, the same marshal was given the custody of one Henry Dove, "a Dangerous Madman, untill he shall Recover his senses."⁵ An earlier instance of this policy toward the "dangerous" insane is contained in the records of York County, Virginia, for 1689. It concerns another "madman," John Stock,

who keepest running about the neighborhood day and night in a sad Distracted Condition to the great Disturbance of the people, therefore for the prevention of his doing any further Mischeife It is Ordered by the Court that Mr. Robt. Read, High Sherr: doe take Care that the said Stock bee Lade Hold of and

² Braintree, Mass., *Town Records*, 1640-1793, p. 26.

³ Minutes of the Mayor's Court of New York City, November 20, 1677 (MS).

⁴ *Ibid.*, April 5, 1725.

⁵ *Ibid.*, July 5, 1720. Incidentally, sixteen years later we meet with a Henry Dove who is pronounced "wild, ungovernable, and Non Compos Mentis" by selectmen of Boston delegated to determine his sanity (*Boston Town Records*, 1736, XIII, 313, 315). Can it be the same Dove whose conduct so belied his peaceful name?

safely kept in some close Roome, where hee shall not bee suffered to goe abroad untill hee bee in a better condition to Governe himselfe, and that ye said Robert Read is to provide such helps as may bee Convenient to Looke after him.⁶

The repressive principle underlying special provision for the mentally ill is explicit in early colonial legislation. For example, the first Massachusetts statute specifically concerned with the insane, enacted in 1676, reads in part:

Whereas, There are distracted persons in some townes, that are unruly, whereby not only the families wherein they are, but others suffer much damage by them, it is ordered by this Court and the authoritie thereof, that the selectmen in all townes where such persons are are hereby impowered & injoynd to take care of all such persons, that they doe not damnify others.⁷

This statute, subsequently amended in 1694, served as a model for legislation concerning the insane in other New England colonies.

The fear of "damnification" appears to have been a principal factor in attracting public interest to the mentally ill in the early days. A singular example of this factor is found in the records of Albany, New York, for 1685, when two gentlemen citizens sent an urgent request to the Common Council that it order "the old Poorman" to be removed from their neighborhood "because of the danger of houses taking fire because of his crazyness."⁸

Special provision for the insane poor, as we have noted, was rare and was chiefly confined to the violent type regarded as social dangers. As for the non-violent dependents, they were ordinarily classified and treated, not as mentally ill, but simply as paupers, one yardstick being used for all pauper classes under the poor laws.

The poor-relief pattern in the colonies followed minutely the lines set down by the famous Elizabethan Poor Law Act of 1601. Its outstanding feature was the fixing of local responsibility for the support of the poor; its guiding spirit was the repression, rather than relief, of pauperism. The principle underlying this local relief system is indicated in a report sent by Governor Dongan of New York in 1686 to the mother country, in which he boasts that "every Town and County are obliged to maintain their own poor, which makes them

⁶ *York County, Virginia, Records*, VIII, 363 (quoted in W. B. Blanton's *Medicine in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* [Richmond, 1930], p. 131).

⁷ *Records of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay*, V, 80.

⁸ Minutes of the Common Council, Albany, N.Y., Vol. 2, January 6, 1685 (MS).

so careful that no Vagabonds, Beggars, nor Idle Persons are suffered to live here."⁹

Indeed, the most repressive measures were adopted to keep out poor strangers, including the dependent insane, through the medium of harsh settlement laws. It was no accident that the first legislation respecting the poor was intended to exclude them from the several colonies and local communities. The earliest of the colonial settlement laws was enacted in Massachusetts in 1639. The titles generally given to such acts—"For the Preventing of Vagabonds," "For the Preventing of Poor Persons," etc.—are significant indications of their repressive intent. Strangers arriving in a town were looked upon with suspicion and were invariably subjected to immediate and searching investigation. Inhabitants were forbidden to lodge strangers without notifying the authorities so that their economic status might be checked. Parents could not even entertain their own children as guests, nor children their parents, without official permission. A definite term of "quiet and undisturbed" residence in a locality, varying usually from three months to a year, gave a person legal settlement, carrying with it the town's obligation to support him should he thereafter require public relief. Hence, if there seemed the least likelihood of a stranger's becoming a public charge at some future time, he was unceremoniously "warned out." As a further bulwark against dependency, towns usually required newcomers, or inhabitants entertaining them, to furnish bond against the possibility of their becoming public charges. In some colonies, public whippings faced all destitute persons who dared to return to a locality after once having been driven out. In New York, according to a law enacted in 1756, such persons received, when caught, "36 lashes on the bare back if a man, and 25 if a woman." In others, still harsher laws provided for the whipping of poor strangers or vagabonds (the terms were used interchangeably) even before expulsion.

The custom of "warning out" was unsparingly practiced in the colonies. Francis S. Drake, the historian of Roxbury, Massachusetts, tells us that warnings were frequent up to the close of the eighteenth

⁹ E. B. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (New York, 1853-87), III, 415.

century and that "Indian stragglers and crazy persons were in the early days often driven from the town."¹⁰ In its application little consideration seems to have been given to those who had previously held positions of respectability and affluence—men who had "known better days." Witness the sad case of an ex-chaplain who had become mentally ill, as recorded in the Boston selectmen's minutes for 1742: "Complaint being made by mr. Cooke that mr. Samuel Coolidge formerly of the Castle is now in this Town & in a Distracted Condition & very likely to be a Town Charge, Voted, that mr. Savell Warn him out of town according to Law."¹¹

The dependent insane in particular suffered from the hardships occasioned by the settlement laws. It seems to have been a frequent practice for towns to spirit away mentally ill paupers, under the cover of night, and to place them in a distant town or neighboring county in the hope of thus ridding themselves of the burden of supporting them. Frequently, the mentally ill were permitted to wander from place to place, or were hurriedly "passed on" by callous authorities in fear of their "falling on the town." Cast out by unfeeling families and niggardly communities, they strayed on aimlessly, like the Toms o' Bedlam who tramped through England, begging their bread, laying their heads wherever they might do so unmolested, the butts of ridicule of village children and idlers, and, more rarely, the objects of charity of some humane individual. The shocking state to which these wanderers were permitted to descend is reflected in an order of the General Assembly of Connecticut Colony as late as 1756, where it is recorded:

There is now at Wallingford a strolling woman that has been sometimes wandering from town to town, calling herself Susannah Roberts of Pennsylvania, who is so disordered in her reason and understanding that she passeth from place to place naked without any regard for the laws and rules of decency.¹²

The Assembly ordered the selectmen of Wallingford to clothe the insane woman and to commit her to the care of "some discreet person that she may labour for her support," and agreed to pay the difference between her earnings and the cost of her keep. The town of Wallingford, incidentally, seems to have been lax in assuming

¹⁰ Francis S. Drake, *Town of Roxbury, Mass.* (Roxbury, 1878), p. 383.

¹¹ *Boston Selectmen's Minutes*, XV, 366.

¹² *Public Records of Connecticut*, X (February, 1756), 464.

legal obligations toward its own dependents, for two years later (1758) we find one of its residents, a "distracted person" named Mary Hall, "allowed to stroll from town to town and place to place, to the great disquiet of many people," and the town is directed to take on her support. If she is thereafter again found wandering outside the confines of Wallingford, the Assembly orders that she be returned at the town's expense.¹³

It sometimes happened that the expense of providing for the insane was too great for one town to bear, as witnessed in an amendment to the Duke of York's law enacted in 1665, soon after New Netherland was captured from the Dutch:

In regard to conditions of distracted persons, they may be both very chargeable and troublesome and so will prove too great a burden for one town to bear, and each town, in the rideing where such person or persons shall happen to be is to contribute towards the charge which may arise upon such occasion.¹⁴

In accordance with the terms of this act, the Court of Sessions for Kings County, New York, in 1695, ordered "that Mad James be kept by Kings County in General and that the deacons of each town within the said county doe forthwith meet together and consider about their propositions for maintenance of said James."¹⁵ This is the earliest recorded instance of county care for the insane that has come to my notice.

When the insane were not punished or repressed for the crime of losing their reason, they usually were treated with an icy indifference. Many localities were not above resorting to scurvy methods in ridding themselves of the responsibility of public care. But here and there, in rare and isolated instances, we do find evidences of sympathetic understanding. It is an interesting fact that the earliest known colonial champion of the right of the mentally ill to humane treatment was that sturdy fighter for liberty and tolerance, Roger Williams. In a touching letter to the town council of Providence in 1650, Williams appeals to the latter to minister to the needs of a distracted woman, Mrs. Weston, so that

some publike act of mercy to her necessities stand upon record amongst ye merciful acts of a merciful town yt hath received many mercies from Heaven

¹³ *Ibid.*, XI (March, 1758), 111.

¹⁴ *Colonial Laws of New York*, I, 79.

¹⁵ Gabriel Furman, *Notes Relating to the Town of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1824), p. 101.

and remember that we know not how soon our wives may be widoes and our children orphans, yea, and outselves be deprived of all or most of our reason before we goe from hence, except from ye God of mercies prevent it.¹⁶

When charity was granted the insane poor it was usually on a basis identical with that of the other classes of dependents. Since almshouses did not come into general use until the end of the eighteenth century it was customary to "house" mentally ill paupers in private dwellings at public expense. Here, in embryo, was a form of the "boarding-out" plan. But it was far removed in aim and accomplishment from the system of family care for the mentally ill which later was to achieve such impressive results in Belgium, Scotland, and elsewhere. The term "neighborly" may be applied to this colonial form of relief only in a geographic sense. In essence it was "cold charity."

Town officers were often charged with the duty of maintaining the mildly insane in their homes. Thus, the colony of New Haven in 1645 made provision for distracted Goodwife Lampson "so far forth as her husband is not able to do it," and committed her to the care of the town marshal. (Incidentally, this case offers one of many instances where dependent insane were only partly relieved by public funds.) Three years later, finding his charge too burdensome, the marshal begged the authorities to relieve him of his responsibility, whereupon the court ordered Goodwife Lampson's husband either to take her back home or to seek another place where she might be kept.¹⁷ Feeble-minded dependents were also disposed of in this manner at times. Witness the action of the commissioners of Surrey County, Virginia, in 1661, contracting with Robert House to board John Deanne, an "Iddiott," and to provide him with food and clothing.¹⁸ The latter seems to have earned at least part of his keep, for in the following year he appears in the records in the relation of "servant" to his "master," Mr. House.

Public provision for the indigent insane very seldom included

¹⁶ Edward Field, *State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations at the End of the Century* (Boston, 1902), III, 390.

¹⁷ *New Haven Colony Records*, I, 203, 414 (cited in E. W. Capen's *Historical Development of the Poor Law of Connecticut*, pp. 23, 47).

¹⁸ *Surrey County Records*, I, 203 (quoted in W. B. Blanton's *Medicine in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 129).

medical treatment. On the rare occasions when it was prescribed it arose more from the motive of economy than of kindness. This calculating approach to the problem is exemplified in the case of Abigail Neal, a distracted woman of Braintree, Massachusetts. For at least a decade following 1697 this woman was boarded out at public expense among several physicians in succession, in the hope that she might be cured and thus relieve the town of her support.¹⁹ The town attempted to wash its hand of this public charge by granting lump sums to each doctor in turn, "providing he give the town noe further trouble about her," but in 1707 poor Abigail remained uncured and the town was still paying for her keep. In 1701 the trustees of the town of Southampton, Long Island, voted that Samuel Barber's wife, "being distracted and out of her reason," be confined in the prison, adding this provision: "Wee do order Capt. Topping to speak to Dr. Wade to come to see her, and to administer that which is proper for such a Person according to his skill and cunning."²⁰ How this prisoner-patient responded to Dr. Wade's cunning, history does not reveal, but a survey of medical care for the mentally ill at the time leaves us little room for optimistic conjecture.

During the latter part of the colonial period laws were passed making it mandatory, upon penalty of fine, for relatives within certain degrees of consanguinity to provide for the mentally ill. But in the earlier years it was not unusual for towns to bear the expense of boarding this class of dependents with their own parents, brothers, wives, or husbands. For example, at a Providence, Rhode Island, town meeting of November 3, 1655, presided over by Roger Williams it was ordered:

Since our neighbor Pike hath divers times applied himself with complaints to ye towne for helpe in this his sad condition of his wife's distraction, he shall repair to the towne treasurer, who is hereby authorized and required to pay unto ye said Pike unto ye sune of fifteen shillings; and the towne promiseth upon his further want and complaint he shall be supplied though to ye value of ten pounds or more.²¹

¹⁹ Charles F. Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History* (Boston, 1893), II, 725-26.

²⁰ *Records of the Town of Southampton*, V (April, 1701), 161-62.

²¹ Edward Field, *op. cit.*, III, 391.

One method of providing for the dependent insane was to grant an individual a lump sum for undertaking the permanent care of some particular unfortunate, as in the aforementioned case of Abigail Neal. In 1699 the town of Braintree ordered the Selectmen "to treat with Josiah Owen about Ebenezer Owens distracted daughter and give him Twenty pounds money provided he gives bond under his hand to clear the Town forever of saide girle."²²

But in this instance, too, the town was unsuccessful in the attempt to free itself forever of its proper charge, for further sums were voted to Josiah for Mary Owen's support in 1702 and again in 1706. In the latter year Braintree finally became resigned to its fate and set aside a definite amount of money to maintain this dependent for the ensuing ten years.

The confused and haphazard nature of colonial relief for the dependent insane is manifested in New York City records of the early eighteenth century. In 1712, for example, we have an instance of provision by indirect loan when the churchwardens were ordered to "lend Phillip Batten, butcher, thirty shillings in order to go on with his trade (he being reduced to great poverty by reason of his wife being delirious)."²³ Hardly less casual was the aid given to one Susan, "commonly called Mad Sew," in 1721, when she was supplied by order of the Mayor's Court with "a good pair of Shoes & Stockings & other Necessary Warm Clothing. She being Very Old Poor & Non Compos Mentis & an Object of Charity."²⁴ In 1729 the fear was expressed by the Mayor's Court that Timothy Daily, who "is by intervals perfectly distracted & non Compos Mentis," might lay violent hands upon himself "if no Care be taken to prevent it." The Court adopted an unusual solution for warding off the danger of suicide by providing his wife six shillings per week to maintain him at home.²⁵ Whether this "preventive" measure succeeded in curing him of his suicidal mania, we have no means of knowing.

A sore problem that confronted our colonial fathers was the disposition of insane persons who committed offenses against the

²² *Records of the Town of Braintree*, pp. 41, 46, 63.

²³ DeVoe, Thomas F., *The Market Book* (New York, 1862), I, 91.

²⁴ *Minutes of the Mayor's Court, New York*, October 10, 1721.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, May 13, 1729.

criminal laws. From the historical evidences available we may conclude that in general practice, if not in theory, no differentiation was made between insane and sane offenders, and that the former were held responsible for criminal acts and were made to suffer the penalties inflicted upon common criminals. Even in relatively advanced communities, where the irresponsibility of the insane was recognized, a hazy notion existed as to how to dispose of their cases. This confusion resulted in decisions that seem strange and inconsistent. In 1674, for example, a case was considered in New York province wherein the defendant was charged with running amuck, breaking down doors, setting fire to houses, and beating women and children. The judges decided that the defendant, "not being in his right reason," could not be held responsible—an enlightened opinion for those times. But we can only express mystification at the final disposition of the case, for the judges decreed that the defendant be banished from Flushing to Staten Island, there to be put to work by order of the local magistrate "who is hereby empowered, if the defendant *behave badly*, to *punish* him according as he may deserve"²⁶ (*italics mine*). It appears that while insanity might be considered a mitigating factor in the first offense, it could not save the afflicted person from punishment on future occasions. There is also the curious disposition of the case of one Roger Humphry, a colonial soldier of Simsbury, Connecticut, who, in 1757, "became delirious and distracted and in his distraction killed his mother." Humphry was acquitted on account of his manifest insanity but was ordered confined for life in a "small place" to be erected by his father at his home. The expense for building this home-prison and maintaining its inmate was to be borne by the public treasury.²⁷

With the growth and concentration of population in the towns, the need for institutional provision for the delinquent and dependent classes became more and more imperative. The haphazard disposition of individual cases was quite suitable for a thinly populated community where the entire roster of inhabitants could convene on town meeting days to decide public problems, but in a thriving and growing town or city the old-fashioned methods proved increasingly

²⁶ O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, II, 689.

²⁷ *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, XI (October, 1759), 313, 590.

cumbersome. Gradually corporal punishment by means of stocks, pillories, and whipping-posts was supplanted by confinement in jails, bridewells, houses of correction, and prisons. Outdoor relief gave way to workhouses and almshouses.

A number of houses of correction and workhouses sprang up in the more thickly populated districts of the American colonies during the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The workhouse was a combination penal institution and poorhouse; within its walls petty offenders and paupers were herded indiscriminately. In theory it seemed to be a most useful institution, fulfilling a number of functions. It was intended to serve as a penal establishment for rogues and vagabonds, idle and vicious; a means for profitably employing the able-bodied poor; a deterrent to those who might be unable to resist the temptation of pauperism were it not for the threat of forced labor and the stigma of workhouse confinement; and an asylum for the impotent poor and the insane.

The first of these institutions to be built in the province of New York (1736) stated its mixed purpose explicitly in the title "Poor-House, Work-House, and House of Correction of New York City." Here the mildly insane were set to work at picking oakum, spinning flax and wool, knitting and sewing, along with the other inmates. For the "unruly" insane, special dungeons were built in "the westernmost division of the cellar—to be confined and imprisoned in."²⁸ Thus were the mentally ill disposed of in a typical workhouse. Needless to say, this all-embracing type of institution, far from realizing the fond hopes of its progenitors, proved a dismal failure.

In some communities houses of correction were built for the confinement of criminals and misdemeanants. Into these institutions the mentally ill were often thrown, no differentiation being made between them and offenders against the law. For instance, when the act ordering the building of Connecticut's first house of correction was passed in 1727, it provided for the incarceration therein of all rogues, vagabonds and idle persons going about in town or country, begging, or persons . . . feigning themselves to have knowledge in physiognomy, palmistry, or pretending that they can tell fortunes, or discover where lost or stolen goods may be found, common pipers, fiddlers, runaways . . . common drunk-

²⁸ *Minutes of the Common Council of New York City, 1575-1776*, IV, 310.

ards, common night-walkers, pilferers, wanton and lascivious persons . . . common railers or brawlers . . . as also *persons under distraction* and unfit to go at large, whose friends do not take care for their safe confinement²⁹ [italics mine].

Upon entrance into this house of correction each prospective inmate was whipped on the bare back not exceeding ten lashes, unless the warrant directed otherwise.

This act, grouping the mentally ill with rogues, vagrants, and other petty offenders, was by no means an unusual one. Two years earlier, in 1725, a similar law had been enacted in Rhode Island empowering the mainland towns to erect a common house of correction for the punishment of rogues and vagabonds "and to keep mad persons in."³⁰

One of the earliest almshouses in America was erected at Boston in 1662. The mentally ill seem to have been admitted into this institution from the very beginning, although several attempts were made to afford separate provision for them. It is noteworthy, however, that these efforts were not motivated by consideration for the insane, but by complaints of the sane inmates of the poorhouse that the outcries and antics of the mentally ill were making life unbearable for them. On the agenda of a Boston town meeting held in 1729 we find this item: "to consider of making Some addition to the Alms House, for keeping Distracted Persons Separate from the Poor." No action was taken, and in 1746 the overseers of the poor proposed to the Boston inhabitants that "the Town purchase the Bridewell house &c. for a mad house."³¹ This proposal resulted in the launching of a campaign to raise funds for the purpose by popular subscription. The campaign proved unsuccessful, and the insane continued to be maintained in the poorhouse.

In 1742 the Philadelphia almshouse, opened in 1729, was "fulfilling a varied routine of beneficent functions in affording shelter, support and employment for the poor and indigent, a hospital for the sick, and an asylum for the idiotic, the insane and the orphan."

²⁹ *Public Records of Connecticut Colony*, VII, 127 (cited in H. W. Capen's *Historical Development of the Poor Law of Connecticut*, p. 63).

³⁰ S. G. Arnold, *History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* (New York, 1859-60), I, 80.

³¹ *Records of the Boston Selectmen, 1716-1736*, XIII (March 2, 1729), 194; *Boston Town Records, 1742-1747*, XIV, 77, 89, 101.

Not until the last quarter-century of the colonial period was hospital accommodation made available for the mentally ill anywhere in the American colonies. The first hospital in the country receiving mental patients was established at Philadelphia in 1751. Most active among its founders were Thomas Bond, a leading physician of his time, and Benjamin Franklin.

In an account of the origin and early years of the Pennsylvania Hospital, written by Franklin himself, we learn that it had its beginnings in 1750, when a number of citizens held a meeting to consider the advisability of building a "convenient House, under one Inspection, and in the hands of skilfull practitioners," for the reception of the sick and for persons "disordered in their Senses. . . . There being no place (except the House of Correction or Alms-house) in which they might be confined, and subjected to proper treatment for their Recovery."³² The proposal gained general approval, and the launching of a province-wide subscription campaign, together with a plea to the Assembly for financial aid, was forthwith agreed upon.

On January 23, 1751, a petition drawn up by Franklin was presented to the provincial Assembly. The petition was favorably received, and on May 6 the Assembly passed an act "to encourage the establishing of a Hospital for the Relief of the Sick Poor of this Province, and for the Reception and Cure of Lunaticks."³³ A grant of £2000 was offered by the legislature with the provision that a like amount be raised by private subscription. Thanks largely to the energy and prestige of Franklin, this was soon accomplished. A temporary hospital was opened in 1752 pending the erection of the permanent hospital buildings which were completed in 1756.

The first public institution exclusively for the insane was opened at Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1773. Its origins may be traced back to November, 1766, when Governor Francis Fauquier made an earnest appeal for such a hospital before the House of Burgesses:

³² Benjamin Franklin, *Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital; from Its First Rise to the Beginning of the Fifth Month, Called May, 1754* (Philadelphia, 1754); see also *Social Service Review*, II (1928), 469-86.

³³ Thomas G. Morton, *History of the Pennsylvania Hospital* (rev. ed.; Philadelphia, 1897), p. 8.

It is expedient I should . . . recommend to your Consideration and Humanity a poor unhappy set of People who are deprived of their Senses, and wander about the Country, terrifying the Rest of their Fellow Creatures. A legal Confinement and proper Provision ought to be appointed to these miserable Objects, who cannot help themselves. Every civilized Country has an Hospital for these People, where they are confined, maintained and attended by able Physicians, to endeavor to restore to them their lost reason.³⁴

Despite his strong plea nothing was accomplished by the Legislature until 1769, when an act was passed "to make Provision for the Support and Maintenance of Ideots, Lunatics and other Persons of unsound Mind."³⁵

It was ordered that a "Public Hospital for Persons of Insane and Disordered Minds" be erected, to be administered by a board of trustees. Among the original trustees were such distinguished citizens of the colony as George Wythe, Thomas Nelson, Peyton Randolph, John Randolph, Robert Carter, John Tazewell, and Dudley Digges. Several of these men became signers of the Declaration of Independence a few years later. The hospital was completed and opened for reception of its first patients October 12, 1773. John de Sequeyra, a leading medical man of Virginia, served as the first visiting physician, retaining his post until 1795. James Galt was appointed the first keeper.

Unfortunately, no record of the early methods of treatment has come down to us, but Wyndham B. Blanton, the historian of medicine in Virginia, ventures the opinion that "undoubtedly the old reliance on chains and confinement in cells prevailed here as elsewhere."³⁶ He is probably correct.

Not the least distinction of this, the first American institution devoted solely to the care and treatment of the mentally ill, is the fact that it remained the only state hospital for the insane in America for a period of fifty years.

A summary of the care and treatment of the mentally ill up to the last quarter-century of the colonial period cannot but impress one with the hopeless confusion prevailing. Neither the nature nor proper treatment of mental disease was understood. In the isolated

³⁴ Virginia, *Journal of the House of Burgesses*, 1766-69 (November 7, 1766), 12.

³⁵ *Ibid.* (November 30, 1769), pp. 304-5.

³⁶ *Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century* (Richmond, 1931), p. 293.

instances when it was recognized as a naturally produced disease and treated therapeutically, the diagnoses and prescriptions were commonly as fantastic and ineffective as medieval nostrums. During the witchcraft delusions in Salem and elsewhere mentally ill persons were hanged, imprisoned, tortured, and otherwise persecuted as agents of Satan. Regarded as subhuman beings, they were chained in specially devised kennels and cages like wild beasts, and thrown into prisons, bridewells, and jails like criminals. They were incarcerated in workhouse dungeons, or made to slave as able-bodied paupers, unclassified from the rest. They were left to wander about stark naked, driven from place to place like mad dogs, subjected to whippings as vagrants and rogues. Even the well-to-do were not spared confinement in strong rooms and cellar dungeons, while legislation usually concerned itself more with their property than their persons. Boarding out the mentally ill with private families or maintaining them at their own homes at public expense did not always result in better treatment, as we have noted in cases where kennel-like structures were attached to homes for their confinement. Whenever public provision was made—usually for the purpose of safeguarding the community from “dangerous madmen”—it generally boded ill for the hapless victim of mental disease. Complete indifference to his lot was in most cases the best he could hope for, since in that event he suffered little more at the hands of a callous society than the taunts, teasings, and the occasional brickbats of village and town braves.

It is not a bright or cheerful picture to contemplate in retrospect. It must be said, however, in defense of our forebears, that the attitudes and the modes of treatment we have described were by no means peculiar to the American colonies, but grew out of, and reflected, conditions in the Old World. Besides, the men of this period could plead complete ignorance of the nature, causes, and cure of mental illness as the root of their harshness, an excuse that could hardly be advanced by authorities of a later century when conditions were hardly improved, and in many respects were even worse.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE
NEW YORK

THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS: SOME ASPECTS OF ITS SOCIAL PROGRAM FOR UNEMPLOYED YOUTH

HENRY COE LANPHER

ONE definitely new approach to the problem of relieving unemployment has been developed in the post-war period—the modern work camp. It has in common with the unemployment relief methods of the past only its conative purpose. As in the roundsmen system of the early nineteenth century, as in work relief in all its forms—from the small town woodpile to the WPA—, as in government-sponsored “spread work” or government-subsidized private employment, as in depression-inspired public works, the work camp’s primary function has been the supplying of subsistence to unemployed people in exchange for labor performed.

The purpose of the United States Civilian Conservation Corps is more than to provide, in return for useful labor, subsistence and those values reputedly inherent in toil. It seeks definitely also, through its complete program, to repair and prevent some of the human damage done by unemployment. CCC work projects related to forestry and natural resource conservation, located where ordinary work relief would in general not be feasible, provide work of perhaps a more “spiritual” value to participants than is provided on more conventional work-relief projects.

The modern work camp seems to have had its origin in Germany in 1925, when a group of fifty students organized a summer camp for work and recreation. The movement grew, though for its first six years it was financed solely through membership fees and private contributions. Originally only students, but, beginning in 1928, students and workers both from urban and from rural areas met in the camps. In 1931 the Voluntary Work Service (*Freiwilliger Arbeitsdienst*) was organized by the government to take over the private camps, and in the following year it was decreed that all unemployed persons aged eighteen to twenty-five should volunteer for a six-

month period of service. It is reported that 200,000 young people served in the camps in 1933. Since then there has been little definite information available concerning the German work camps. This is doubtless due to their reported close relationship with the Nazi military program.

Even before his election President Roosevelt seems to have been thinking of an American work-camp program.¹ At any rate, within a month of his inauguration he had requested,² and Congress had furnished, the authorization and funds for him to go ahead with a camp program.³ The enabling act prescribed that employment was to be provided for unemployed citizens on federal or state lands, or, if "necessary in the public interest," on lands owned by counties, municipalities, or private individuals. The type of work project was not strictly delimited, but the expressed intent of Congress was that it should be mainly in reforestation, forest-fire control, pest control, soil-erosion control, and the general improvement and beautification of national parks and other public lands. The act authorized the expenditure of money not only for employing the unemployed but for their housing, feeding, clothing, transportation, and medical care.

The only specifications in the act concerning persons to be employed were that they should be selected from the unemployed, that they should be citizens of the United States, that they should not be under conviction and serving sentence for crime. The act specifically provided that there should be no discrimination because of race, color, or creed. It made no specifications concerning age or sex of those to be employed, or concerning their marital or relief status.

The President, on April 5, 1933, appointed Robert Fechner as director of Emergency Conservation Work. The distinction between the names "Emergency Conservation Work" and "Civilian Conser-

¹ On October 31, 1932, in a campaign speech in Boston, Mr. Roosevelt said: "In the national forests, on flood prevention and on the development of waterway projects already authorized and planned but not yet executed, thousands can be given at least temporary employment" (*New York Times*, November 1, 1932, 16:6).

² President Roosevelt's Message to Congress of March 21, 1933 (*New York Times*, March 22, 1933, 2:2).

³ *Public No. 5* (73d Cong.), S. 598: "An act for the relief of unemployment through the performance of useful public work, and for other purposes." Approved March 31, 1933.

vation Corps" is that the former applies to the whole program and organization of which Mr. Fechner is director while the latter applies to the organization of juniors, war veterans, and local-experience men in barrack camps, but excludes Indians in exclusively Indian camps and the camps located in Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Alaska, and the Virgin Islands. Indians and territorial enrollees constitute only about 4 per cent of the total ECW enrolment.

Under the general supervision and co-ordination of Mr. Fechner, four executive departments of the government—the departments of War, Labor, Agriculture, and the Interior—and a number of bureaus, including the Veteran's Bureau, participate in the CCC program. Representatives of each of the participating departments together form an advisory council to the director and serve individually as liaison officers between their departments and the ECW Staff. The four executive departments and the Veteran's Bureau function in the program as follows: The Department of Labor has the responsibility for the selection of members of junior CCC camps. Its function is mainly supervisory, as the selection of about 90 per cent of the members of junior camps is delegated by it to the officially recognized emergency relief administration in each of the states. The selection of the 10 per cent remaining, designated "local-experience men," is delegated to the camp work-project supervisory staffs. The Veteran's Bureau is responsible for the selection of war-veteran enrollees for the approximately 10 per cent of CCC camps which, since May, 1933, have been maintained exclusively for this group. To the War Department is assigned the major administrative task in the program, the operation and supervision of camps, including preliminary physical examinations and medical care as well as the transportation, feeding, clothing, and housing of the entire enrolled personnel. The major functions of the departments of Agriculture and the Interior in the program are the planning and supervision of work projects. The work-project staffs attached to the camps are responsible only for the activities of enrollees from the time they leave camp for work in the morning until their return in the evening.

State quotas for enrolment in the CCC have been based on population figures, except that in 1934 and 1936 extra quotas were allotted drought-affected areas. The average enrolled strengths in the

first four six-month camp periods were:⁴ first period, 200,368; second period, 270,379; third period, 300,121; and fourth period, 339,955. In the fifth period, beginning April, 1935, a peak enrolment was reached when something over 500,000 men were cared for in over 2,900 camps. In December, 1935, President Roosevelt decreed that the total Corps enrolment be reduced to 300,000 men by June 30, 1936. Pressure was brought to bear by congressmen from states which were to suffer a curtailment of camp activities under this order and in March, 1936, the President modified it and decreed that the approximate CCC enrolment up to March 31, 1937 (when, according to existing law, the Corps will terminate), shall be 350,000.⁵ Up to April, 1936, approximately 1,600,000 persons had been given employment in the CCC program. This number included 1,250,000 junior enrollees and 125,000 war veterans, the balance consisting of local-experience men, Indians, reserve-officer technical experts, educational advisers, and workers employed in the construction of camps.⁶

About 87 per cent of enrollees receive pay ("allowance") of \$30 per month. Up to five per cent, as leaders, receive \$45 per month, and up to 8 per cent, as assistant leaders, receive \$36 per month. The annual cost of the CCC program per enrollee has been officially reported to be approximately \$1,175. This has been itemized as follows:⁷

Pay of reserve and warrant officers, contract surgeons, nurses, educational advisers, technical and civilian personnel.....	\$155
Enrollees' pay.....	372
Shelter.....	85
Clothing.....	131
Food.....	140
Medical treatment.....	18
Transportation.....	50
Supplies, equipment, freight, and supervision.....	224
Total.....	<u>\$1,175</u>

⁴ *Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work, Embracing Activities from April 5, 1933, through June 30, 1935* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1935), p. 65.

⁵ *New York Times*, March 24, 1936, 19:3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, April 6, 1936, 2:5.

⁷ *Report of the Director of ECW, April 5, 1933, through June 30, 1935*, p. 25.

In addition to the basic CCC eligibility requirements specified by Congress—unemployment, citizenship, and non-conviction for crime—the director of Emergency Conservation Work has specified the following social qualifications for junior enrollees:

They must be unmarried males (including widowed and divorced men), aged 17–28 inclusive.

They must be members of families receiving public relief.

They must have dependents “either of blood or obligation” to whom they are willing to allot a substantial portion of their monthly allowance.

They must not be on probation or parole.

During the first twenty-six months of the program the age group eligible was eighteen to twenty-five inclusive. During this period needy young men from both relief and non-relief families were accepted. On June 1, 1935, a new ruling limited new enrollees to members of relief families and added the ages twenty-six, twenty-seven, and twenty-eight to the ages previously eligible. On October 1, 1935, apparently due to the need for more new applicants than were forthcoming under the “from relief families only” rule, the ages of eligibility were again increased this time to the present seventeen to twenty-eight. At present men may re-enroll indefinitely if they do so in camp at the end of a camp period. They are eligible to reselection after leaving camp only if a year has elapsed since their discharge and if their previous service was not less than four months.

When applicants for CCC enrolment have been selected or “certified” by the selecting agency, they are instructed to report on a specified date at an army recruiting office. Here they are physically examined. To be accepted by the army the selectee must be judged able to perform ordinary labor without danger of injury to himself, and he must be free from diseases which require treatment or which would constitute a menace to the health of other members of the CCC.⁸ The only national statistics presented in official reports relating to rejections for physical causes are for the first camp period—the summer of 1933. In this period of 313,000 men examined, 8.8 per cent were rejected for physical incapacity.⁹

⁸ *War Department Regulations, Relief of Unemployment, Civilian Conservation Corps, May 15, 1935* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1935), p. 11.

⁹ *First Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work, for the Period April 5, 1933, to September 30, 1933* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934), p. 5.

In Cook County (Chicago), Illinois, during the year 1934, 15.8 per cent of selectees examined were rejected.¹⁰ Some suggested explanations of the magnitude of the Cook County percentage as compared with the only national figures available are: the possibility that physical eligibility standards were less strict in the first camp period than in later periods; a possibility that, in the hurried selection of men for the first camp, a smaller proportion than in subsequent camp periods were selected from the more seriously underprivileged group; a possibility that physical defects among CCC applicants became more frequent as the economic depression continued; the possibility that Cook County selectees in 1934 were actually less healthy than the national average.

An analysis of the Cook County 1934 physical rejections shows that of the 8,066 selectees referred by relief agencies 17.4 per cent were rejected for physical causes, while of the 5,808 non-relief applicants only 13.6 per cent were so rejected.¹¹ The most frequent reason for physical rejection was defective teeth. One out of twenty of all men examined were rejected for this cause. The criterion in the matter of teeth was mainly that a man possess enough teeth and so placed as to enable him properly to masticate his food.¹²

The typical CCC camp accommodates a maximum of 200 enrollees and consists of five barracks, mess hall, kitchen, officers' quarters, recreation hall, offices, storerooms, garages, etc. In charge are two reserve army officers, one of whom is in command, and a civilian "educational adviser." Members of the supervisory staff of the work-project also are often quartered in camps, as are army doctors and chaplains who serve the Corps. In a full camp or "company" about twenty-four enrollees are assigned to "company overhead." This group have no duties in connection with the work project but serve as cooks, kitchen helpers, clerks, chauffeurs, etc. The remaining enrollees, about 176 in a full company, spend eight hours a day, five days a week, on the work project. The eight-hour day includes an

¹⁰ Computed from data furnished by Otto B. Kreuzer, CCC Certifying Officer, Cook County, Ill.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Statement of A. U. Derman, M.D., medical officer attached to CCC Subdistrict No. 1, Sixth Corps Area, Ill.

hour off for lunch and up to an hour of traveling time required to go to and from work.

While CCC camps were designed to accommodate 200 enrollees, the effect of the present reduction in the Corps enrolment to about 350,000 and, possibly, the desire of the administration to close as few camps as possible have led to a general reduction in the average size of CCC companies. In the Sixth Corps Area (Wisconsin, Illinois, and Michigan) the strength of the average CCC company in June, 1936, was only 137.4 enrollees.¹³

The food provided in CCC camps, though occasionally criticized during the early months of the program, appears at present to be abundant and of high quality. The cost of food provided, 40-45 cents per day per man, is the same as that provided for the army. Officers receive the same food as enrollees, but it is served to them separately and they pay for it at cost out of their pay. Enrollees are provided with adequate warm clothing and, on their arrival at camp, with a full set of toilet articles.

The CCC program has been criticized as subjecting enrollees to militaristic influences. The basis for this criticism appears to be slight. Military influences appear to be only those which must necessarily exist if groups of men are to live in camps in an orderly way under the authority of army officers. War Department regulations state:¹⁴

Training.—No military training will be undertaken. However, such training as may be desirable to insure proper and adequate living conditions, housing, and own welfare may be conducted.

Enrollees neither salute, drill, nor march. Discipline is maintained on a civilian basis. Authorized punishments are "admonition," a small deduction in pay, suspension of privileges, changes in work assignment, reduction of leaders and assistant leaders, and discharge from the Corps.¹⁵

The health of enrollees is guarded through the carrying-out in camp of strict army sanitary regulations, through immunization against smallpox and typhoid fever, through frequent physical ex-

¹³ Statement of Mr. Sanford Sellers, Jr., educational director, Sixth Corps Area, Chicago, Ill.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

aminations, and through the furnishing of medical attention in cases of illness or injury. Emergency medical care and hospitalization are furnished whenever indicated, but no more than this is provided if the disease or injury is deemed a result of misconduct on the part of the enrollee.¹⁶ Cases of venereal disease are treated until believed non-infectious. Long-continued medical care, elective surgical operations, and non-emergency dental work are not provided, but CCC enrollees have the same rights as other federal employees to compensation for injuries incurred in line of duty. Courses in personal hygiene, including sex hygiene, are given in each camp; prophylactic stations are maintained to which enrollees are instructed to report after having had illicit sexual intercourse.¹⁷ War Department regulations imply, but do not state unequivocally, that an enrollee contracting venereal disease as a result of his own misconduct is to be discharged.¹⁸

The only published statistics relative to the occurrence of venereal disease in the CCC which the writer has found cover the third camp period (summer of 1934). In this period 2,777 cases were reported, or a rate of 18.51 per thousand men per year.¹⁹ In response to an inquiry, the writer was recently informed that latest data, covering the winter 1935-36, indicate a CCC venereal disease rate of 20.8 cases per thousand men per year.²⁰ It is interesting to compare these reported rates with a recent rate for the most comparable group in the Army. For white enlisted men in the United States Army stationed in the United States during the year 1934, the venereal disease incidence rate was 35.1 per thousand men per year.²¹

Though the United States Army publishes an annual report of the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 86 and 110.

¹⁸ *War Department Regulations, Relief of Unemployment, Civilian Conservation Corps, May 15, 1935* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1935), p. 14. "An enrollee who is discharged . . . for physical disability resulting from venereal or other disease or injury contracted during his enrollment and due to his own misconduct will be given an administrative discharge."

¹⁹ *Third Report of the Director of ECW* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934), p. 19.

²⁰ Letter to writer dated August 18, 1936, from Granville E. Dickey, chief statistician Emergency Conservation Work, Washington, D.C.

²¹ *Annual Report of the Surgeon General, U.S. Army, 1935* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1935), p. 36.

surgeon general of some two hundred pages covering health conditions in the army, there have been no comparable published reports covering the general health of CCC enrollees. However, general morbidity and mortality rates covering the first twenty-seven months of the CCC are available.

TABLE I

MORBIDITY AND MORTALITY RATES PER 1,000 MEN PER YEAR IN THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS, APRIL, 1933—JUNE, 1935; ALSO, FOR COMPARISON, CORRESPONDING RATES FOR U.S. ARMY WHITE ENLISTED MEN STATIONED IN THE UNITED STATES JANUARY 1—DECEMBER 31, 1934*

	ADMISSIONS TO SICK REPORT			DEATHS		
	Disease	Injury	Total	Disease	Injury	Total
Civilian Conservation Corps, April, 1933—June 30, 1935.....	1252.7	323.1	1575.8	1.5587	1.3209	2.8796
U.S. Army, 1934.....	461.2	129.8	591.0	2.1	2.0	4.1

* The CCC rates are from the *Report of the Director of ECW, April 5, 1933, through June 30, 1935*, p. 65. The U.S. Army rates are from the *Annual Report of the Surgeon General, U.S. Army, 1935*, pp. 10, 15, and 58. Rates for admissions for disease, and deaths from disease in the army, were obtained by subtracting rates for injury admissions and rates for death from injury from total rates.

An "admission to sick report" constitutes an absence from work of twenty-four hours or longer, due to sickness or accident. See *Second Report of Director of ECW*, p. 6.

In Table I a summary of these rates for the CCC is presented and, for comparison, rates for white enlisted men in the United States Army stationed in the United States during the year 1934. The much higher sickness rate in the CCC reflects apparently the less-strict-than-army physical qualifications for enlistment, the relief and near-relief background of enrollees, and the general unhardened condition of CCC men. Doubtless the higher injury rate in the CCC arises in part out of the difference in work activities in the two organizations.

The CCC death-rate of 2.87 may be compared with the rate of 8.07 (according to the American Experience Table of Mortality) for unselected men of a similar age group in the general population.²² Though CCC enrollees doubtless represent the more physically adequate 85–90 per cent of the underprivileged men of their age group,

²² *Report of the Director of ECW, April 5, 1933, through June 30, 1935*, p. 6.

their low death-rate seems to be a bit of most convincing evidence of the life-saving values inherent in adequate food, clothing, housing, and medical care. The higher death rate in the army as compared to the CCC may doubtless be accounted for by the higher average age of army men.

A most significant feature of the CCC, and one which serves to differentiate it most tangibly from other programs of work relief, is its educational program. Its inauguration toward the end of the first year of the CCC seemed to connote an increased emphasis on the social and rehabilitation aims of the program, as opposed to its work and relief functions. The administration of the educational program, like all "in camp" activities, is solely the responsibility of the War Department. However, the Office of Education, Department of the Interior, is active in the program, serving in an advisory capacity to the War Department.

The commanding officer of each company is in general charge of educational activities, but the actual carrying-on of the program is largely delegated by him to the civilian "educational adviser."

In each of the nine army corps areas, an educational director, assisted by a number of district advisers, co-ordinates and supervises the activities of camp advisers. A report covering all CCC camps indicates that 92 per cent of camp advisers have Bachelor's degrees or better, and that 78 per cent have had previous teaching experience.²³ The personal qualities needed in educational advisers, however, rule out many men who have been successful as teachers. Needed besides teaching ability are the qualities of the executive, of the good organizer, of the natural leader, and of the man skilled in the art of winning and holding the esteem of young men. In each camp one enrollee appointed as an assistant leader is assigned as assistant educational adviser. The educational adviser delegates to him such duties as the care of the library, teaching, directing journalistic activity, and generally assisting with the educational program.

The educational program is in no sense formalized. There is no prescribed curriculum. An opportunity is simply brought to enrollees for class and lecture attendance, and vocational instruction while at work, on a voluntary and distinctly adult basis. Classes,

²³ C. S. Marsh, "CCC Education One Year Old," *School Life Magazine* (January, 1935), p. 116.

perhaps better termed "study groups," are organized for those enrollees who wish to attend, in subjects which are of interest and importance to them. Teaching is done by educational advisers, assistant educational advisers, members of the military and technical staffs, enrollees, by teachers provided by the Education Division, WPA, and by volunteers recruited from nearby communities. In May, 1936, the largest group serving regularly as teachers were members of the technical staff. The next largest group were enrollees (not including assistant educational advisers).²⁴

Organized classes generally meet once or twice a week for one-hour periods; courses usually extend over a period of from nine to fifteen weeks. In May, 1936, when the total CCC enrolment was 346,450, the total enrolment in instruction groups was 394,152.²⁵ The higher latter figure is accounted for by the participation of many enrollees in more than one group. The enrollee participation by type

	Number	Per Cent
Illiterates learning to read and write. . . .	7,017	1.8
Elementary.	77,343	19.6
High school.	83,485	21.2
College.	6,020	1.5
Vocational.	220,287	55.9
Total.	394,152	100.0

of subject studied was, during May, 1936, as tabulated. It may be mentioned in this connection that the average period of previous school attendance of CCC enrollees as of June 30, 1935, was reported to be 8.7 years.²⁶ A national survey of illiteracy in the CCC made in July, 1935, showed an illiteracy rate of 1.9 per cent. Illiteracy rates varied markedly in different sections of the country. The highest rate, 5.9 per cent, was found in the Fourth Corps Area (the South), and the lowest rate, 0.3 per cent, in the Ninth Corps Area (the Pacific Coast states).²⁷

The informality of CCC instruction has been both a test and a training for those doing the teaching. Classes have had to be made interesting or enrollees do not attend. Possibly education applied on

²⁴ *Civilian Conservation Corps: Comparative Report of Educational Program, February 1, 1936, to May 31, 1936.* (One-page mimeographed report issued by U.S. Department of the Interior.)

²⁵ *Ibid.* ²⁶ *Report of the Director of ECW, April 5, 1935, through June 30, 1935*, p. 29.

²⁷ *A Study of Illiteracy in CCC Camps with Special Reference to Methods of Treatment*, Emergency Conservation Work Publication No. 110068 (mimeographed).

this basis would not be entirely practicable in public schools, but it seems probable that the success of the informal CCC educational plan will tend to modify to some extent general teaching methods in this country, and bring about both an extension of and an improvement in adult education programs.

Besides organized courses of instruction, there are many other activities in CCC camps of an educational nature. There are arts and crafts groups, dramatic groups, and music groups. In May, 1936, educational advisers held 235,355 "counseling and guidance" interviews with enrollees; 147,892 enrollees withdrew books from camp libraries; 1,640 camp newspapers were being published, 7,901 educational motion-picture films were shown, and nearly two-thirds of all enrollees received some group instruction in connection with their work activities.²⁸

The CCC has proved far more popular with the younger than with the older men in the age group eligible. In the summer of 1935, when the ages eighteen to twenty-eight were eligible, over half of the new enrollees were eighteen or nineteen years of age.²⁹ In late 1935 and the first part of 1936, when the lower limit of eligibility had been reduced to seventeen, 66 per cent of new enrollees were seventeen, eighteen, or nineteen years of age.³⁰ In this latter period less than 1 per cent of new enrollees were twenty-eight years old.

On October 31, 1935, of a total CCC enrolment of 474,390 men, 48,864, or about 10 per cent, were Negroes.³¹ This is slightly above the proportion of Negroes in the general population—9.7 per cent.³² However, it is substantially less than were Negroes given their full representation in the CCC in proportion to the percentage of "youth" on relief. "Negroes and others," according to 1935 figures, make up 15.3 per cent of the age group sixteen to twenty-four on relief.³³ Negroes, while occasionally included in white camps, are mainly in exclusively Negro camps.

²⁸ *Comparative Report of Educational Program, February 1, 1936, to May 31, 1936, op. cit.*

²⁹ Department of Labor form letter, Ser. IV, Letter of Instruction 12, November 26, 1935; addressed to state directors of selection of men to be enrolled for ECW.

³⁰ Memorandum for the Press, August 26, 1936 (ECW No. 122949).

³¹ ECW, Memorandum for the Press, January 14, 1936.

³² *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*, VI, 6, Table I.

³³ *Statistics of Youth on Relief*, Research Bulletin, Ser. I, No. 16, Works Progress Administration, 7857 (Washington, January 6, 1936) (mimeographed), p. 6.

A surprising and, to the writer, a rather disquieting fact concerning the CCC program is that about half of the young men leaving the Corps drop out (or are dropped) for one reason or another before the termination of the period for which they have enrolled. Of the men leaving the Corps during the first twenty-seven months of the program, about 26 per cent did so before the end of their enrolment period for the purported purpose of accepting employment; 10 per cent deserted; 7 per cent were discharged for disciplinary reasons, 3 per cent for physical disability, and the discharge of the remainder—only 54 per cent of the total—was for expiration of term and certain other reasons.³⁴ The degree to which leaving camp before the end of an enrolment period should be considered an indication of the personal maladjustment of enrollees is a subject for speculation. It is reasonable to assume that the 17 per cent who are reported (up to June 30, 1935) to have deserted or to have been discharged for disciplinary reasons were young men who most needed the stabilizing influence of the camp experience. As for the 26 per cent of discharged men who left camp early to accept employment, the size of this group may be either positive or negative evidence of the effectiveness of CCC rehabilitation: positive in so far as the offers of employment are bona fide; negative if, as some suspect, many "offers of employment" represent collusion between enrollees and outside relatives and friends to obtain the honorable discharge of enrollees who do not find the camp experience to their liking.

Possible evidence that leaving camp to accept employment may be, in some cases at least, a subterfuge, is found in the reports of surveys of former enrollees made by the FERA. While, in the surveys covering former enrollees of the second and third camp periods, 36.4 and 22.8 per cent, respectively, of the men traced by interviewers were, about two months after the close of the camp period, found to be employed, the proportion of employment was found to be only slightly greater among those who left camp early than among those who remained for their full term.³⁵ This difference might easily be

³⁴ Compiled from *Report of the Director of ECW, Embracing Activities from April 5, 1933, through June 30, 1935*, p. 62.

³⁵ *Report of the Findings in a Survey of Former Members of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Summer Term 1934* (Washington: Federal Emergency Relief Administration, July 15, 1935) (mimeographed), Tables 6A and 4. Of interviewed enrollees of the second

explained as arising from the extra period of time early leavers had in which to find work before being interviewed in the survey. In the survey of former enrollees of the third camp period, it was found that in nine states there was actually more employment among men who had remained in camp for their full term than among those who had left camp early.³⁶

No major undertaking of the Roosevelt administration appears to have met with more general approval and less disapproval than has the CCC. Even the opposition of organized labor who have feared its effect on wage levels, and of certain groups who feared its militaristic and "fascist" aspects, seems to have largely subsided.³⁷ Conservatives have liked the program for its discipline, for the work habits it has inculcated, and for the natural resource conservation work it has accomplished; liberals and social workers have liked it because they see in it the only important combination of relief and work which has appeared genuinely effective in building human values.

It seems fairly probable that the CCC is destined to be a permanent institution. It is to be hoped that it may be! It is also to be hoped that the eligibility rules will be changed to permit any young man of a prescribed age group, without regard to his economic need or his relief status, to enjoy the privilege of CCC enrolment. Were the relief of destitution to become only an incidental purpose of the CCC, and its major function to be the provision of "fill-in" employment and the values of the camp experience to all men in a limited age group who could profit by the experience, the Corps would, it seems, even more than today deserve the unqualified support of all.

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camp period, 39.1 per cent of those who left camp early and 34 per cent of those who completed their terms were found to be employed. The corresponding figures for enrollees of the third camp period were 24.2 per cent and 21.6 per cent.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Tables 6B and 6C.

³⁷ However, it is of interest that the 1936 platform of the Socialist party advocates abolition of the CCC, the National Youth Administration, "and opposition to any similar attempts to deal with the economic problems of youth which threaten the wage and the living standards of organized labor" (*New York Times*, May 27, 1936, 10:5).

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND MENTAL PATIENTS

HAROLD H. PUNKE

THIS article deals with problems concerning the incidence of mental defect and disease, the burden on society to care for the persons concerned, and the educational implications of the problem.

FREQUENCY OF MENTAL DEFECT AND DISEASE

From 1927 to 1933 there was a gradual increase from 43.8 to 48.6 per cent in proportion of all hospital beds occupied by nervous and mental patients.¹ The average census of patients shows that during the same period the proportion of all hospital patients who were suffering from such diseases increased from 52.0 to 58.6 per cent. Although roughly half our total hospitalization is concerned with nervous and mental patients, yet only approximately 1.5 per cent of the annual admissions to hospitals are admissions to institutions for such patients.² Obviously, then, the average nervous or mental patient stays in the hospital longer than the average patient admitted for other hospitalization. Thus the average stay for general hospitalization is thirteen days, as compared with approximately 1,200 days for nervous and mental patients.³ Accordingly, hospitals for nervous and mental diseases are largely for segregation and incarceration rather than for treatment in the sense in which general treatment is administered.

The foregoing comments relate to hospitalization. There is, however, no way of knowing the number of mentally ill persons not in hospitals. Hence estimates vary. In 1929 Ogburn and Winston made a rather careful estimate⁴ based on analysis of data from army

¹ Adapted from Council on Medical Education and Hospitals of the American Medical Association, "Hospital Service in the United States," *Journal of American Medical Association*, CII (March 31, 1934), 1008-9. The data cover approximately 99 per cent of the aggregate bed capacity of recognized hospitals in the United States; *ibid.*, p. 1007.

² *Reports of Committee on Cost of Medical Care in the United States*, No. 27, p. 329.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ William F. Ogburn, and Ellen Winston, "The Frequency and Probability of Insanity," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIV (March, 1929), 822-31.

medical examinations made during the World War. From New York State they report 396 men with mental disorders per 100,000 examined, as compared with 290 males twenty to thirty years of age in hospitals for mental diseases per 100,000 males of corresponding ages in the population. The corresponding figures for Massachusetts are 371 and 280, respectively. Thus there were more mentally diseased men outside hospitals than in hospitals. The authors conclude "that the chances of a white person 15 years old in such a state as New York or Massachusetts being committed to a hospital for mental disease during the course of a lifetime . . . are about 1 in 20, and that very probably the chances of developing a psychosis or severe incapacitating neurosis, whether sent to a hospital or not, are somewhere near 1 in 10." Essentially this same statement is made by others.⁵

Perhaps a comparison between likelihood of admission to a hospital for the mentally ill with likelihood of admission to a hospital for general treatment will help evaluate the foregoing estimates. If one took an average of 7,000,000 general admissions per year, as suggested in "Hospital Service in the United States,"⁶ and extended the rate to cover the number of years in an average life-time, there would be a per capita average of something like two and one-half or three admissions for general hospitalization; that number of chances that a person will be admitted to one that he will not. When this figure is compared with the likelihood of one to twenty of being admitted to a hospital for the mentally ill, the latter figure does not seem quite so impressive.

CAUSES OF NERVOUS AND MENTAL DISEASE

No attempt will be made here to classify causes of mental diseases by type of psychosis, but rather to suggest the types of causal fac-

⁵ H. M. Pollock and B. Malzberg, "Expectation of Mental Disease," *Mental Hygiene*, XIII (1929), 132-63; "Preliminary Report of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection," as reprinted in "Problems of Mental Health," *Mental Hygiene Bulletin*, IX (January-February, 1931), 5; Haven Emerson, "The Magnitude of Nervous and Mental Diseases as a Public-Health Problem," *First International Congress on Mental Hygiene* (New York: International Committee on Mental Hygiene, Inc.), pp. 209-36.

⁶ Council on Medical Education and Hospitals of the American Medical Association, *op. cit.*, p. 1009.

tors which the school might and those which it might not influence. A broad differentiation is permissible between environmental and hereditary factors: the first subject to educational influence, the second not. In the past a larger proportion of mental illness has been attributed to heredity (gene transmission) than now seems appropriate. In a Massachusetts study 3,553 elementary-school children who were three or more years retarded in school were referred to mental clinics, from among 154,382 children attending such schools (1921-23). Of the 3,553 children 72 per cent were feeble-minded. In 89 per cent of the cases, however, the condition had an origin other than heredity, organic mental disease, or epilepsy.⁷

With regard to heredity as a factor in feeble-mindedness, Penrose states, from English experience, that "something like 5 per cent of all defectives have one or other parent mentally defective."⁸ Dayton, from Massachusetts experience, states that "instances in which both parents are mentally defective (I.Q. below 70) are rare, and the number of these families is so small that their offspring could never be of great moment in the affairs of the nation, whatever the size of family."⁹ Parents may, of course, carry genes for mental defect without themselves being defective. On this point Dayton states that there "are approximately six times as many carriers who are parents of mental defectives as there are parents who are themselves defective."¹⁰ Fisher suggests a similar proportion.¹¹

Curti¹² lists the following environmental factors as capable of producing feeble-mindedness: (1) malnutrition of mother, making adequate nutrition of foetus impossible; (2) prolonged and wasting disease (i.e., tuberculosis, cancer, diabetes, pellagra) which have the same effect as malnutrition; (3) toxins (lead poisoning, phosphorous poisoning, excessive use of alcohol); (4) deficiency or excess of

⁷ Emerson, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁸ Lionel S. Penrose, *Mental Defect* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934), p. 169.

⁹ Neil A. Dayton, "Influence of Size of Family Upon the Characteristics of Mentally Deficient," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, XCI (January, 1935), 800.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ R. A. Fisher, "The Elimination of Mental Defect," *Journal of Heredity*, XVIII (December, 1927), 529-31.

¹² Margaret Wooster Curti, *Child Psychology* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1930), pp. 49-58.

glandular secretion (cretinism—ranging from high-grade feeble-mindedness to idiocy—resulting from inadequate thyroid); (5) infections contracted before or at birth (juvenile syphilis); (6) birth injuries (pressure on skull, through delivery by instruments or otherwise);¹³ (7) intense emotional experience of mother which interferes with flow or hormone character of blood reaching embryo.

To the foregoing factors Penrose would add attempts at abortion¹⁴ and radium and irradiation treatment of pelvis before or during pregnancy,¹⁵ and Fletcher refers to infantile paralysis as a cause of arrested brain growth.¹⁶

The important thing here for educators is that environmental factors are coming to constitute proved explanations of mental phenomena which used to be explained on a purely germ plasm basis.

NATURAL INCREASE AMONG THE MENTALLY ILL

It is often urged that mentally ill and defective persons normally reproduce rapidly. This seems a mistake. Penrose comments that "a large proportion of existing defectives never could have children because their mentality is of such low grade that they would never, in the ordinary way, find a mate."¹⁷

Dayton¹⁸ reports a study of 20,473 mentally retarded children in Massachusetts public schools. The average age of mothers was ap-

¹³ Litzenberg refers to the high incidence of birth injury in this country as due to frequency of forceps deliveries. He refers to 17.4 per cent of all deliveries in the United States as forceps deliveries, whereas he quotes Plass, who surveys foreign statistics, indicating an incidence of roughly 3 per cent. Litzenberg refers to an increase during the decade 1920-29 of 29.7 per cent in infant deaths from birth injuries. He further states that "approximately 6 per cent of all babies delivered by forceps will be either still born or suffer a neonatal death. With low-forceps the rate is 3 per cent; with mid-forceps the rate is five times higher, about 15 per cent; and with high-forceps, at least 30 per cent, ten times as dangerous as normal delivery, or the low-forceps" (Jennings C. Litzenberg, "Presidential Address: The Challenge of the Falling Birth Rate," *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology*, XXVII [March, 1934], 317-29). The foregoing comments relate to deaths. The reader can conjecture the extent to which skull injuries result in mental defects among babies who live.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27.

¹⁶ John M. Fletcher, *Psychology in Education* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Doran & Co., 1934), p. 103.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 169.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 800-804.

proximately forty-one years, as contrasted with forty-five years at which time families are normally considered complete. When adjustments were made for sampling error and nationality of mother, the average number of children per family was 3.5, as compared with 3.6 children indicated as the average size of completed family in a study which Dayton cites from Burks relating to 1,187,000 families. There is no evidence here of prodigious spawning among families with mentally retarded children.

Death-rate also affects the rate at which a particular group in the population increases. To draw again on Massachusetts data, the death-rate in 1933 for the general population was 11.8 per thousand. Among first admissions to state hospitals for mental disease, however, the death rate was 114 per thousand, or about ten times that of the general population.¹⁹

In a study of mortality of mental defectives covering the fourteen years 1917-30, Dayton presents comparative data on death-rates of mental defectives and total population by age groups. He shows that among males 2-9 years old the death-rate among defectives is eight times as great as among normal males. The ratios for other ages are: 10-19 years, four; 20-29 years, four; higher ages, three or lower. Among females the ratios are: 2-9 years, eleven; 10-19 years, five; 20-29 years, two; higher ages, two or lower.²⁰

In terms of expectation of life, Dayton and others state:²¹

The average expectation of life for a male infant of two years in the general population is 56.8 years. For idiots this figure is reduced to an average expectation of 20.1 years; for imbeciles, 29.6 years; for morons, 52.5 years; and for mentally defective males as a whole, 30.1 years. For a female infant of two years the average expectation of life is 59.3 years; for idiots, 21.3 years; imbeciles, 38.4 years; morons, 46.8 years; and all mentally defective females, 32.9 years.

¹⁹ Massachusetts, Commissioner of Mental Diseases, *Annual Report for the Year Ending November 30, 1933* (Boston: State Capitol, Public Document No. 117), p. 185.

²⁰ Niel A. Dayton, "Mortality in Mental Deficiency over a Fourteen-Year Period: Analysis of 8,976 Cases and 878 Deaths in Massachusetts." *Proceedings of Fifty-fifth Annual Session of the American Association for the Study of the Feeble-minded*, New York, May 25-28, 1931, p. 197.

²¹ Neil A. Dayton; Carl R. Doering; Margaret M. Hilferty; Helen C. Maher; and Helen H. Dolan, "Mortality and Expectation of Life in Mental Deficiency in Massachusetts: Analysis of the Fourteen-Year Period 1917-30," *New England Journal of Medicine*, CCVI (March 24, 1932), 631.

Thus many defectives die before living through much of their reproductive periods.

Marriage rate and fertility of marriage are likewise important in population increase. Dayton reports a study of marriage rate and of sterile marriages among persons who have developed psychoses after the age of fifty. He states that among males approximately three times as many are single or widowed as of total male population of corresponding ages. Moreover, approximately five times as many are divorced as among the total population. The same general relationships hold for females. Furthermore, Dayton reports a somewhat higher percentage of sterile marriages (no children) in such instances than in the total population (20 per cent as compared with 17 per cent).²² Thus the mentally defective and diseased reproduce more slowly than the general population.

ECONOMIC BURDEN OF CARING FOR NERVOUS AND MENTAL PATIENTS

It might be clarifying to compare the cost of caring for nervous and mental patients with the cost of public education. The cost per capita for patients in state hospitals for mental diseases (including building improvements and additions) was \$386.65 in 1931 and \$359.84 in 1932.²³ If one allows for 3.5 per cent of the patients as being cared for in private institutions (using the 1933 figure),²⁴ there were 439,531 patients cared for in governmental institutions in 1932. If the per capita cost in state hospitals may be used for all governmental hospitals, the total bill from public revenue for such cases in hospitals in 1932 was \$158,160,835.04.

The cost per pupil in average daily attendance in the public schools (including interest on indebtedness) was \$91.05 in 1930 and \$87.67 in 1932.²⁵ In 1932 there were 22,245,344 pupils in average

²² Neil A. Dayton, "Research Techniques in Mental Hygiene," *International Congress on Mental Hygiene, Washington, D.C., May 5-10, 1930* (preliminary printing), pp. 26-31.

²³ United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Mental Patients in State Hospitals, 1931 and 1932*, Table 15, p. 16.

²⁴ Council on Medical Education and Hospitals of the American Medical Association, *op. cit.*, p. 1014.

²⁵ United States Department of the Interior, Office of Education, Bulletin, 1933, No. 2, *Biennial Survey of Education 1930-32*, chap. i, p. 25.

daily attendance in the public elementary and secondary schools;²⁶ thus an expenditure of \$1,950,249,308.48. That is, we spend a little over 8 per cent as much from public funds for the hospitalization of nervous and mental patients as we spend for elementary and secondary education. Apparently there is no immediate danger of using up more of our public resources in caring for mental cases than in educating children.

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE ARTICLE

1. Environmental factors are of considerable importance both in mental defect and disease, and the prenatal environment must not be overlooked here. Characteristics which are subject to environmental influence are in the domain for educational consideration. Accordingly, technical education in the comprehensive sense, sometimes within professional circles, might do much to reduce the incidence of mental defect and disease.

2. The school has a definite responsibility for maintaining a diagnostic and guidance program which brings mentally diseased, mentally defective, and low-grade normal children to professional attention. Although most defectives may appear normal at birth,²⁷ yet diagnosis of deficiency can often be made during early school years. Such diagnosis makes it possible to bring defectives to the attention of clinic or court before delinquency or reproduction occurs.

A further guidance responsibility is essentially that of homogeneous grouping of persons of low-grade normal mentality, and of providing them a curriculum which they understand and which helps them become of such usefulness as their mentality permits. Because of the frequent consideration given to this point it will not be further considered here.

Aside from the curriculum the guidance program has a further responsibility of preventing the development of unbalanced personalities and of mental disease among children who are not mentally defective. Numerous case studies of pathological as well as of criminal personalities show that during his early school years the

²⁶ *ibid.*, Table A, p. 2.

²⁷ Penrose (*op. cit.*, p. 166) suggests that 90 per cent appear normal at birth.

individual got well under way in developing pathologic and delinquent tendencies.

3. The popular idea regarding the incidence of mental defect, and the cost of caring for defectives, is exaggerated. The bill here indicated is large when considered alone (\$158,160,835.04) and, as with any public expenditure, is too large if it can be reduced without impairing public welfare. However, in comparison with certain of our other expenditures, it does not seem so great. It is about one-thirteenth as much as we spend annually for tobacco; less than one-tenth as much as we spend for soft drinks, ice cream, gum, candy, etc.; less than one-fifth our annual expenditure for jewelry, perfumes, and cosmetics; and less than one-third our annual expenditure for sporting goods, toys, etc.²⁸ Thus considered, the economic argument becomes less awesome. Matters of this kind might well be the concern of secondary and adult education.

4. A further problem for secondary and adult education relates to understanding the nature of mental defect and disease itself. Reference to sterilization of defectives will illustrate. Certainly if the relationship between defect in parent and in offspring is as little as suggested in this article, the sterilization of all present defectives would not greatly reduce the number in the next generation. Moreover, if most present defectives are being cared for in institutions, with the sexes segregated, sterilization would not be of great importance. The problem with mental defectives outside of institutions is first to get them judicially recognized as defectives, before they can either be institutionalized or sterilized. Furthermore, the laws providing for sterilization that have been passed by twenty-eight states, even when upheld by the courts, have to date been relatively ineffective largely because of failure to make provision for carrying out the necessary surgical operations and failure to provide funds to support the program.²⁹ On the other hand it should be noted that the operation for sterilization can be performed in a humane manner (vasectomy and salpingectomy) which does not interfere with normal sexual expression except as to conception.

²⁸ Cf. Ellwood P. Cubberley and Walter C. Eells, *An Introduction to the Study of Education* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1933), p. 511.

²⁹ Penrose, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

Possibly some persons of low-grade normal mentality might consider themselves better off sterilized, if they seem able to provide for themselves but unable also to provide for children. Perhaps there would be some saving of public funds by a vigorous program of sterilization as contrasted with the present program of segregation and institutionalization.

The foregoing paragraph does not attempt to outline a curriculum in secondary or adult education regarding mental disease and defect, nor even to set forth a complete list of "reasons" for or against sterilization. It does attempt to suggest, however, by illustration from one phase of the field, the type of consideration that might constitute a useful approach in popular education to problems of the incidence, causes, and treatment of mental disease and defect.

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NEGROES DURING THE DEPRESSION IN KANAWHA COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA

LEON BROWER

SINCE the beginning of the present depression there has been a disproportionately high number of Negroes among the unemployed. This has been especially marked in the larger urban and industrial areas with a considerable Negro population.¹ They have consequently also contributed a disproportionate number to the relief rolls. The Unemployment Relief Census of October, 1933, conducted by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, revealed that in the United States there was almost twice as high a proportion of Negroes as of whites on relief.²

The Negro group in West Virginia did not fare so badly as did the Negroes in the United States as a whole. The Unemployment Relief Census for West Virginia showed a total of 386,218 persons receiving unemployment relief, of whom 94.6 per cent were white and 5.3 per cent Negro. Since the total population of West Virginia, according to the 1930 Census, is 93.3 per cent white and 6.6 per cent Negro, a slightly larger proportion of white persons was found on relief in 1933 than in the general population. At that time 22.6 per cent of all white persons in the state were on relief, while the Negroes on the relief rolls were only 17.9 per cent of their total number.

These figures, however, do not present a true picture of the problems of Negro dependency in West Virginia, since the bulk of the Negro population on relief is concentrated in the larger cities and industrial centers, and on the relief rolls of these areas is found a greatly disproportionate distribution of Negroes and whites. Consequently, in those areas where Negroes on relief were found to any appreciable extent, the problems facing these Negroes and the difficulties surrounding their future adjustment in the industrial world are more serious than appears from a first examination of the relief

¹ Federal Emergency Relief Administration, *Unemployment Relief Census, October, 1933*, Report II, p. 6.

² *Ibid.*, Reports I and II.

statistics, and their effective readjustment calls for careful study of their personal, occupational, and economic status.

Since in 1930 it outranked all counties in general population and was second in Negro population, Kanawha County, in which Charleston, the state capital, is located, was chosen for a study of this type. According to the relief census of 1933, of 6,124 families on relief in the county 82.9 per cent with 22,740 persons were white and 17 per cent with 3,391 persons were Negroes. One year later (October, 1934) there was an increase of relief cases, but the proportion of Negro families had decreased to 14.5 per cent while that of white families had increased to 85.5 per cent. However, since the total population is composed of 90.4 per cent white and 8.2 per cent Negroes, the percentage of Negroes on relief was still in excess of their proportion in the general population. Moreover, there has been great variance within the county. Thus, in Charleston, the largest urban area within the county, 36 per cent of the colored population were on relief in October, 1933.

In the course of the study an effort was made to discover some of the differences in the characteristics of the relief and non-relief Negro families in Kanawha County in order to determine whether or not such differences would provide pertinent data in planning for these families.

The data for this study were gathered from 48 per cent of all the Negro households of the county and included 44 per cent of the total Negro population, or 5,576 persons. The number of relief families studied was 38 per cent of all Negro relief families, while the relief persons included were 48 per cent of all Negroes on relief according to the relief statistics for September, 1934.³

A house-to-house canvass was made in collecting the material and all schedules were taken during September and October of 1934. The large percentages of cases studied and the fact that the coverage was practically uniform throughout all sections of the county and included most types of occupations in which Negroes were employed, such as coal mining, domestic service, agriculture, and manufacturing, seem to indicate validity for the analyses drawn from the study.

³ The data were edited and compiled under the direction of Mr. Alexander Washington, former research assistant of the West Virginia Relief Administration.

ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLDS

The households included in the survey were divided into three groups on the basis of their economic status during the depression: (1) normal—those whose incomes had not been reduced sufficiently to affect the usual living standards; (2) marginal—those in which unemployment had prevailed to such an extent that the standards of living had been seriously reduced but the families were not on relief at the time of the study (of this group 26 per cent had received relief in the past but not any were receiving relief at the time of the study); and (3) relief—those receiving public assistance at the time of the study.⁴ A distribution of the families included in these groups is shown in Table I.

TABLE I
ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLDS
INCLUDED IN STUDY

Economic Classification	Number of Households	Per Cent Distribution
Normal.....	562	41.7
Marginal.....	389	28.8
Relief.....	398	29.5
All households.....	1,349	100.0

HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY COMPOSITION

Although this study included only 1,349 households, the number of families studied was greater than the number of households owing to the many instances where two or more families had combined into a single household because of economic pressure. It was found that 13 per cent, or 179 of the households, included two or more family groups. It is significant that only 8 per cent of all the households in the normal economic group included two or more families while nearly 19 per cent of all marginal and 15 per cent of all relief households were so combined. Observation of these families showed that in the lower economic group this combining of families had rarely resulted in economic benefits but had resulted in overcrowding and decreased living comforts.

⁴ This terminology is similar to that used by Emma O. Lundberg in "Who Are the New York Emergency Relief Families?" *Social Service Review*, VIII (1934), 616-27.

In the group of normal households—i.e., those in which pre-depression living standards had been maintained—516 included only a single family unit, 44 two families, and 2 three families, thus totaling 610 families for the entire normal group. In the marginal households—i.e., those in which living standards had gone down but which were not on relief—316 were composed of one family, 58 two families, 10 three families, and 5 four families, or a total of 482 families in this group. The households on relief consisted of 338 single-family units, 55 two-family units, and 5 three-family units, making a total of 463 families. The total number of families for all three groups was 1,555.

Of these 1,555 families included in the study, 1,032, or 66 per cent, were composed of husband and wife with or without children; 375, or 24 per cent, were broken families in which one parent was absent; and 148, or nearly 10 per cent, were composed of non-family persons, i.e., single individuals. The largest proportion of broken families was found in the relief group where they composed 31.5 per cent of the entire group of relief families. Broken families loomed next largest in the marginal group, where they were 26.5 per cent of the total number of families, and lowest in the normal families, where they formed 16.6 per cent of the total families. The importance of this factor in future economic prospects of the families can readily be appreciated when it is noted that 88 per cent of all these broken families were left with female heads. Moreover, 12.7 per cent of all the relief families, 10.2 per cent of all the marginal families, and only 4.3 per cent of all the normal families had children under sixteen years of age dependent solely upon a mother's support. The hardships of these situations would certainly be greatly alleviated by more adequate provisions for mothers' aid,⁵ since work opportunities for Negro women of this type are very limited and the social inadvisability of such employment would far outweigh the meager economic benefits even if such employment were available.

In addition to the members of the families, 242, or 18 per cent of the households studied, also included extra-family persons living in

⁵ Although West Virginia has a mothers' pension law, only four of the fifty-five counties appropriated funds for this purpose in 1934. In Kanawha County, having a population of 157,667, only \$9,885 was appropriated in 1934.

the home as boarders or lodgers. The total number of extra-family persons was 326 which, with the 5,250 regular family members, made a total of 5,576 persons in the households studied. Nineteen per cent of the normal, 22 per cent of the marginal, and 12 per cent of the relief households included boarders or lodgers within the household; and more than three-fourths of the normal and marginal households received income from the lodgers. Indeed, it is possible that without this income many of the normal or marginal households would have slipped into the next lower group. But although 12 per cent of the relief households kept boarders or lodgers, slightly less than one-third of these households derived any income from this source, and in almost all instances this income was irregular and could not be depended upon.

Excluding the extra-family persons from the households, the size of the relief and marginal homes differed sharply from the normal households. While only 27 per cent of the normal households have five or more members in the home, 33 per cent each of both marginal and relief households were composed of this number. Homes with five and six persons were found in the following proportions: normal 16 per cent, marginal 15 per cent, relief 20 per cent. Seven or eight members were found in 7 per cent of the normal, 9 per cent of the marginal, and 8 per cent of the relief households. Also 4 per cent of the normal, 9 per cent of the marginal, and 5 per cent of the relief homes had nine or more members.

AGE DISTRIBUTION

As shown in Table II, 31.5 per cent of the persons included in the survey were under sixteen years of age and 35.5 per cent were under eighteen years. This age distribution reveals a striking difference between the relief group and the other two groups in the proportion of children to adults. Thirty-six per cent of the members of relief homes were under sixteen years of age and 40 per cent were under eighteen years. The marginal homes had 31 per cent under sixteen and 34 per cent under eighteen, while the normal homes had 29 per cent of their members under sixteen and 33 per cent under eighteen years of age. In view of the low standards of health and nutrition on which relief households are forced to exist, this preponderance of

young children on the relief rolls augurs ill for the future well-being of the group.

Another significant difference is found when the proportions of persons between the presumable wage-earning age limits—i.e., sixteen to forty-five—were compared for the three groups. While 50 per cent of the members of both the normal and the marginal groups were between these age limits, the proportion for the relief group was only 43 per cent. This low percentage of possible wage-earners in

TABLE II
AGES OF PERSONS ACCORDING TO ECONOMIC
CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILIES

AGE GROUPS (YEARS)	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION			
	All Persons	Normal	Marginal	Relief
Under 1.....	2.1	1.6	1.9	2.8
1-5.....	8.6	7.8	8.2	10.2
6-13.....	16.5	15.7	16.3	17.9
14-15.....	4.3	3.8	4.5	4.7
16-17.....	4.0	4.2	3.4	4.4
18-24.....	12.6	12.1	14.0	12.0
25-34.....	15.3	15.7	17.2	12.8
35-44.....	16.3	18.5	15.5	14.1
45-54.....	11.7	12.6	11.2	10.9
55-64.....	5.4	5.3	5.2	5.7
65 and over.....	3.2	2.7	2.6	4.5
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

homes receiving relief was, no doubt, one of the causes contributing to their relief status.

The relief group also showed an excessive proportion of aged as well as children among its members. Although persons over sixty-five years of age constitute 2.7 per cent and 2.6 per cent of the normal and marginal groups, respectively, they constituted 4.5 per cent of the relief group. Here again social-security measures, properly administered, would do much to alleviate the economic distress among the relief group.

EMPLOYABILITY

The economic security of a wage-earning family depends both upon the availability of employment and upon the physical ability

of the wage-earner to perform the necessary work. The Compensation Department of West Virginia Relief Administration set up the following four categories of employability, based upon the physical condition of persons as revealed by medical examination: (1) capable of ordinary work, (2) capable of light work, (3) temporarily unemployable, and (4) totally unemployable. Since these classifications are based entirely upon physical fitness and do not take into account such social factors as the advisability of the employment outside their homes of mothers with children under sixteen years of age and the improbability of persons over sixty-five years of age finding any employment in the present industrial order, social workers have modified these categories into the following five mutually exclusive classifications: (1) capable of ordinary work, (2) capable of light work only, (3) permanently unemployable because of disabilities, (4) mothers with dependent children, and (5) superannuated, or over sixty-five years of age.

Since the heads of all relief families had received recent medical examinations in order to determine their fitness for work relief, the employability classification for the heads of relief families can be given with accuracy. Attempts were made to obtain the employability classification of persons of the other groups with as great accuracy as possible through their statements concerning previous medical examinations and recent examinations for positions entailing compensation risks, insurance, etc.

Table III presents the employability of heads of all families arranged by economic groups. Since less than half of the heads of the Negro relief families were capable of ordinary work, it is evident that the situation confronting this group is far more serious than a temporary emergency and should not be planned for on a temporary emergency basis. Even if opportunities for employment should become so manifold that those persons partially disabled and capable only of light work should all be able to find work, almost one-third of the heads of the relief families would still for social or physical reasons be unemployable. In addition to these almost one-fourth of the heads of the marginal families are also unemployable because of social or physical reasons, and since they are not far removed from relief status and are already on the border line of self-support, many

will in all probability eventually drop into the relief group and greatly augment its proportion of unemployables. Thus the need for permanent planning for these unemployables is forcibly indicated.

Since the problem of unemployability of the head of the family may, in many instances, be ameliorated by the presence of an alternate wage-earner in the home, it is significant to note that one or more alternate wage-earners—i.e., an unmarried child sixteen years of age or over who is capable of performing ordinary labor—were found for 50 per cent of normal families whose heads were socially or physically unemployable, for 41 per cent of such marginal house-

TABLE III
EMPLOYABILITY OF HEAD OF FAMILIES ACCORDING TO
ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILIES

EMPLOYABILITY CLASSES	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION			
	All Heads	Normal	Marginal	Relief
Capable, ordinary work.....	66	78	65	49
Capable, light work.....	14	10	13	19
Unemployable, disabilities.....	2	1	2	5
Mothers, dependent children.....	12	6	14	16
Superannuated, over 65.....	6	5	6	11
Total.....	100	100	100	100

holds, but for only 30 per cent of the relief group. These differences become even more significant when it is revealed that of all alternate wage-earners in relief families 66 per cent were new recruits on the labor market without any employment experience, 40 per cent of alternate wage-earners in marginal families were new recruits, and 27 per cent in normal families. Clearly, then, a large percentage of these Negro families cannot become self-supporting.

EDUCATION

Another significant difference between the three groups is found when a comparison is made of the educational attainments of their members. It is of interest to note the relationship between educational training and earning capacity as indicated by the economic classification, and, since the great majority of the wage-earners in

these families are men, the educational comparison is shown separately for male and female adults.

In studying the scholastic attainments of these men in relationship to their present economic status it was found that nearly 15 per cent of the males on relief had had no school training while only about 9

TABLE IV
EDUCATION OF MALES, SIXTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER,
ACCORDING TO ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATION
OF FAMILIES

GRADE COMPLETED	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGES			
	Total	Normal	Marginal	Relief
Less than first.....	10.0	8.1	8.6	14.8
Less than second.....	11.9	9.5	10.4	17.5
Less than third.....	15.9	12.9	14.7	22.3
Less than fourth.....	21.9	18.5	20.6	29.2
Less than fifth.....	30.5	27.2	29.5	37.0
Less than sixth.....	39.2	35.5	36.5	48.2
Less than seventh.....	48.9	44.5	45.6	60.1
Less than eighth.....	57.5	53.2	53.3	69.5
Less than ninth.....	72.2	68.9	69.9	80.4
Less than tenth.....	77.9	74.1	75.8	86.2
Less than eleventh.....	83.1	79.7	80.3	92.1
Less than twelfth.....	86.7	82.8	85.1	95.0
Less than first-year college.....	94.8	92.5	94.2	98.9
Less than second-year college.....	95.7	93.9	95.1	99.1
Less than third-year college.....	96.9	95.0	97.3	99.7
Less than fourth-year college.....	97.5	95.6	98.2	99.7
Less than first-year graduate.....	99.1	98.3	99.4	100.0
Less than second-year graduate.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

per cent of the men or boys in the marginal groups and 8 per cent of those in the normal group were without any formal education, as is shown in Table IV. Approximately 8 per cent of the men in the normal group, about 6 per cent of the marginal, but only 1 per cent in the relief group had finished high school. Although about 2 per cent of the men in the normal group and nearly 1 per cent in the marginal had completed college, no college graduates were included among the men on relief.

The same trend in education was found among the women in the

three groups, as is shown in Table V. Thus nearly 14 per cent of the women on relief had not completed the first grade while about 5 per cent of the women in the marginal and slightly less than 6 per cent in the normal group had not at least completed the first grade in school. In both normal and marginal families about 11 per cent of

TABLE V
EDUCATION OF FEMALES, SIXTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND
OVER, ACCORDING TO ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATION
OF FAMILIES

GRADE COMPLETED	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGES			
	Total	Normal	Marginal	Relief
Less than first.....	8.1	5.7	5.3	13.8
Less than second.....	9.2	6.3	6.6	15.6
Less than third.....	11.9	9.1	8.2	19.5
Less than fourth.....	16.5	10.7	14.1	26.0
Less than fifth.....	23.6	16.2	20.5	35.3
Less than sixth.....	30.0	23.5	28.5	39.2
Less than seventh.....	37.8	30.3	36.4	47.9
Less than eighth.....	45.8	39.4	44.1	55.1
Less than ninth.....	60.7	56.1	58.8	68.3
Less than tenth.....	66.9	60.8	64.9	76.0
Less than eleventh.....	73.6	67.1	71.5	83.5
Less than twelfth.....	79.8	74.4	75.8	90.4
Less than first-year college.....	91.8	89.8	89.1	97.3
Less than second-year college.....	93.5	92.1	90.9	97.9
Less than third-year college.....	95.9	94.7	93.9	99.7
Less than fourth-year college.....	97.4	97.1	95.7	99.7
Less than first-year graduate.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

the women had completed high school, but less than 3 per cent of the women in the relief families had had similar training.

CHILDREN OF THE NEGRO

A study was made of the age-grade distribution of the school children of the three economic groups. When the results were tabulated there was found, as might be expected, a large percentage of retardation among the lowest economic group, but the extent of retardation in all three groups was discouraging. Almost 35 per cent, or more than one-third of all the school children studied, were retarded by one or more school grades. In the normal group nearly

31 per cent of school children were retarded; 36 per cent were retarded in the marginal and 39 per cent in the relief group; so that while retardation was excessive for each economic group studied, it was greatest in the relief and lowest in the normal group.

The aggregate for all retarded pupils was 852 pupil-grade retardations (i.e., the number of retarded pupils multiplied by the number of years each pupil was retarded) and the average grade retardation was 1.95 grades per retarded pupil. For 153 retarded pupils from families of normal economic level the average retardation was 1.7 grades; for 136 retarded children from the marginal group the average retardation was 1.95 grades per pupil; and for 148 children from relief families, 2.16 grades per pupil!

Although some measure of retardation is to be expected, so large a percentage of retardation raises questions as to the quality of the teaching and the suitability of the curriculum. Since West Virginia maintains separate schools for its Negro and white children, this would seem to afford opportunity for experimenting in the adaptation of the curriculum to suit the needs and interests of the two groups, if such modification seems called for. The opinion of several Negro educators in the county included in this study is that such modification, although desirable, has not been made. Judging from the figures on retardation of this particular group of Negro children, these schools have probably failed to meet the needs of Negro children as a whole.

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

An attempt was made to classify the wage-earners of the families covered in this investigation according to their regular occupations, in order to determine whether or not occupational differences among the three groups might be a causal factor in their present economic status. A surprisingly small variation in occupational status was found for the three groups, although this might have been expected since the type of occupation open to Negro wage-earners is quite limited.

The work experience of Negro adult males has for the most part been concentrated in five large categories: 27.5 per cent of all the male adults have found their regular occupation in mining, 10.6 per

cent in public service, 6.9 per cent in construction, 6.4 per cent in common labor, and 6.2 per cent in transportation. Fourteen per cent of all males sixteen years of age and over had never been employed. Some of the variations found were that while fully 64 per cent of males in relief households were in occupations requiring little or no skill, 57 per cent of those in the normal groups and 55 per cent of the male wage-earners in the marginal group were so classified. Professional and managerial workers constituted 15 per cent of the males in the normal group, 14 per cent in the marginal group, and only 4 per cent in the relief group.

The work experience of the female wage-earners was concentrated in domestic service, professional work, hotel employment, public service, and in the textile industry. A rather large number of the women included in the study are or have been employed in school-teaching: 7 per cent in the normal group, 6 per cent in the marginal group, but only 3 per cent of the female wage-earners in the relief group. Domestic service, however, employed the highest percentage of the women workers as follows: 32 per cent of the normal group, 47 per cent of the marginal group, and 45 per cent of the relief group.

As might be expected from their similarities in occupational status, little variation is shown when the incomes for these three groups are compared for the period prior to the depression. Data regarding income were tabulated only for those families who could give full information as to their employment and income for the year recorded.

During the year 1929 the mean average monthly income for the heads of the normal economic group amounted to \$78.35, for the marginal \$77.55, and for the relief group \$73.30. During 1931 they still showed little variation, but from 1932 onward the average income of the employed heads of the marginal and relief groups show a sharp decline, and present statistical evidence of the decline of these families to the relief or marginal level.

Although families in the normal group are those who have been able to maintain their customary standard of living, we find that the average monthly income for the normal families for the months of 1934 immediately prior to the study amounted to \$67.88—a drop of \$10.47 from their average income of \$78.35 in 1929. The income of

the employed heads of marginal families dropped from \$77.55 in 1929 to \$49.70 in 1934. The low earnings of this group indicates how close they are to relief level.

But the most outstanding fact in this comparison of incomes is the comparatively low level of income existing among all the families, even those which were termed normal. Certainly an average monthly income of \$67.88 among the highest group can make possible little in the way of savings and other resources against such exigencies as sickness, unemployment, and old age. No more compelling argument for adequate social-security measures can be presented than this statistical portrayal of the effects of unemployment, widowhood, old age, and other economic disabilities upon a people normally earning only a subsistence wage, as evinced by the higher percentages of the disabled among the relief group.

At present relief in West Virginia is administered by the poor relief officials of the various counties, the Works Progress Administration, and the West Virginia Relief Administration. The county agencies administer assistance to unemployables, and the West Virginia Relief Administration administers relief to the employables not absorbed by the Works Progress Administration as well as a considerable number of unemployables.

The case load of the West Virginia Relief Administration is being cared for through an appropriation of \$250,000 monthly, made by the state, which is expected to end in June, 1936. As yet no legislation⁶ has been enacted by the state to provide for co-operation with the public-assistance features of the Social Security Act, and it is probable that after June all unemployables as well as those employables not absorbed by the Works Progress Administration will be turned over to the poor relief authorities of the various counties.

Since a constant source of new relief cases is found in the unemployed families of the marginal group who are forced to turn to relief when they have used up their last resources, rising employment will have to keep pace with the large numbers of unemployed in the

⁶[Since the article was written West Virginia did submit plans for aid to the needy aged, needy blind, and to dependent children in their own homes to the Social Security Board. All three public-assistance plans were approved by the Board on September 23, 1936.—EDITORS]

marginal groups as well as the relief groups before any decrease in the relief rolls will result. Despite any improvement in employment conditions, it is highly improbable that the large percentage of socially and physically unemployables in either the relief or the marginal groups will be absorbed by industry to any appreciable extent. In all probability most of these unemployable members in the marginal economic group will, sooner or later, be added to the relief ranks, and the already high proportion of unemployables in this group will become even higher. In a group such as the one studied, whose normal earnings rarely exceed a subsistence level, increased employment among the employable members will be unlikely to provide them with sufficient income to care for the unemployables in their own family group. Fundamental improvement in the Negro schools, in health conditions, and in wages are clearly necessary to reduce dependency among the Negroes included in this study. In the meantime it is important to recognize that adequate food and decent homes are needed if the children are to become useful citizens. Thus the untemporary aspects of the relief problem and the need for untemporary planning should be appreciated.

FLORIDA STATE BOARD OF SOCIAL WELFARE
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

NOTES AND COMMENT

IN MEMORIAM

THE loss of some of our old friends and fellow-workers is recorded with deep regret. Last October the death of Mary E. McDowell, one of the world's best "neighbors," brought to a close a long and active life of service which began when Mary McDowell became a resident of Hull-House in the early days when Hull-House meant Jane Addams, Julia C. Lathrop, and Florence Kelley. Mary McDowell left this group to become the first head of the University of Chicago Settlement in the area "back of the Yards," where she lived and worked for more than forty years. She followed the Hull-House tradition in her service to the various social reform movements of her generation. She was a leader in the founding of the Women's Trade Union League of Chicago, which she served as president for many years, and a friend of all the trade-union girls of the city and the country. Her friendly interest in their behalf was one of her greatest contributions. She was also a well-known figure among the friends of the Negro group, active in their different organizations; an early president of the Woman's City Club of Chicago, and a determined advocate of better methods of garbage collection and street-cleaning. But her friends will remember at the moment her indomitable humor, her eager love of life, her interest in new ideas and new experiences, which made her a loving and lovable friend of the rich and poor alike.

The death of Frankwood E. Williams, at a relatively early age while he was still one of the leaders in the mental hygiene field, came as tragic news to his numerous friends and followers who had expected him to carry on his able, devoted service to the mental hygiene movement for a long period of years. For ten years Dr. Williams was the medical director of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, and under his leadership new and important developments in this field went forward rapidly.

Dr. Williams was not only identified with the National Committee for Mental Hygiene but with the New York School of Social Work, the New School for Social Research, and the International Committee on Mental Hygiene.

Another leader whom we have lost just at the time when one of the movements with which he had been especially identified is coming into

its own is Dr. Isaac M. Rubinow, most recently secretary of the B'nai B'rith. Dr. Rubinow was an able and vigorous supporter of the contributory system of social insurance. His large volume on this subject was not only a pioneer but a standard work. He was the secretary of the Health Insurance Commission of the state of California in 1916 and continued an active protagonist in the field of contributory health insurance. His most recent book, the *Quest for Security*, is also a standard volume on this subject. He was a well-known contributor to such social-work magazines as the *Survey*, *Social Service Review*, and *Jewish Social Service Quarterly*; but he was also a distinguished economist and statistician and his articles were often published in the *American Economic Review*, the *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, and the *Journal of Political Economy*.

Dr. Rubinow continued until the end of his life an active participant in national and state social-work conferences. At the time of his death he was chairman of the Committee on Social Action of the National Conference of Social Work. His death will be a great loss to social workers in all parts of the country.

Other friends, long known to readers of this *Review*, who will be greatly missed are Ethelbert Stewart, former commissioner of labor statistics, and well known to social workers in the field of social statistics and social research over a long period of time; and Monsignor Burke, head of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, who held a position of leadership and influence, particularly in Washington, where he will be greatly missed.

CIVIL SERVICE IN THE ELECTION

FOR the first time in several decades the spoils system was a real issue in the last presidential campaign. Each party platform declared for extension of civil service, and their candidates promised extension of the system in the event of election. They have, of course, done so before but in a very different political atmosphere.

The Gallup poll of public opinion with reference to civil service showed approximately 90 per cent of the people favored the merit system and disapproved the patronage system. But Congress had disregarded the people's mandate on this subject. Over the objections of the administration the employment service, for example, was not put under civil service, the experts employed by the Social Security Board were exempted, and the politicians demanded their pound of flesh from every emergency administrative agency and particularly from W.P.A. All of which has brought

militant opposition to the spoils system. The Civil Service Reform League under the leadership of its recently elected president, Robert L. Johnson, is enlisting new sources of support and publicity for its program. The League of Women Voters and many other organizations, among them the A.A.S.W., now find the public has been generally educated to the need and that the time for action has arrived. If the congressional and legislative campaigns for extension of the system and improvement of existing laws and their administration are vigorously pushed during the next six months, great progress should be possible during 1937 in establishing a real merit system for our federal, state, and local public services.

PUBLIC WELFARE LEGISLATION IN 1937

THERE will be regular sessions of the legislatures in forty-three states in 1937, all except Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, Virginia, and Mississippi. In many there will be proposals for reorganization of state departments of public welfare as well as for security legislation. Ten states (California, Connecticut, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin) have commissions which are scheduled to report in January on this general subject. Five states (Colorado, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia) have had state commissions or committees studying unemployment compensation, and Virginia has had one on old age assistance. In other states in which security legislation and proposals for expansion or reorganization of the state department failed of passage in 1935 and 1936, the subjects will again be before the legislature.

In the past the functions of state departments were largely limited to provision of institutional care and services for institutions rather than co-operation in the organization of county departments of public welfare and participation in local services. The requirement that there must be a single administrative agency with power to supervise the local administration of old age assistance and aid to dependent children as a condition of receiving federal funds for these purposes under the Social Security Act and the proposed or accomplished integration of emergency relief with the state departments has created the need for new types of service in the state departments. State leadership in the public welfare program has become more clearly than ever the responsibility of the director of the state public welfare department. As a result he will need administrative competence, skill in public relationships, and knowledge of the subject matter more than ever before.

"THE WORLD'S PRISONERS"

THE *Manchester Guardian Weekly* gives an interesting account of an appeal prepared by the Howard League for Penal Reform, the well-known prison reform association of London, circulated among the delegates to the assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva at the time of the September meeting. An editorial in the *Guardian* tells us of the important census of the number of those detained in the prisons in the different countries of the world, and gives the following data:

The number of adults deprived of their liberty in every hundred thousand of inhabitants is the standard of comparison, and on this basis the figures for England and Wales are 29.9; Scotland is a little lower and the Irish Free State lower still with 19.4. These are, unfortunately, exceptional. The next group are democratic States like France, Norway, and Denmark, which all work out round about 50. Then there is a big rise. Austria has 104, Poland 150, and Germany 156 (which does not include those in concentration camps). The Baltic States show up worst in Europe; Finland, Estonia, and Latvia have all well over two hundred. . . . In spite of omissions and the differences of sources and standards from which these figures are compiled, they present sufficiently striking contrasts to make us wonder who all these "criminals" are and whether it is a wise Government that detains them.

The following passages are quoted from the Howard League's appeal:

We feel it right to draw the attention of the League . . . to the question of the treatment of prisoners throughout the world, and in particular to the international bad feeling generated by the extent to which the penalty of imprisonment, unfortunately often under conditions which the nations have agreed to be intolerable, is still used as a weapon against political, racial, and even religious dissidents.

There has perhaps never been, in all history, a time when so many men and women were shut away from liberty as in the last few years. Many of these are not, in the ordinary sense of the word, criminals. Some have no other fault than that of being deprived by world events beyond their control of any rights as nationals. Others belong to those minorities which it has been the repeatedly expressed aim of international negotiation to protect. Even with regard to ordinary law-breakers only a small minority are professional criminals, and for the rest the use of imprisonment on a large scale is often less the result of necessity than of inertia.

It is not too much to say that the worst evils of confinement, overcrowding and insanitary conditions, idleness, inadequate supervision and unsuitable personnel (with the result of bullying, humiliation, petty cruelty and even torture) are almost invariable results of a swollen prison population.

There is unfortunately ample evidence that such things are happening in many countries at the present day. The "Minimum Rules for the Treatment of

Prisoners" are far from being universally observed; even those practices explicitly condemned by the Assembly in 1935 still continue in many places.

The question of the numbers of prisoners over the whole world is therefore, we submit, one which should be intensively studied as showing the scope of this international problem. Like the kindred scourge of slavery, the evil of unnecessary imprisonment is largely due to public ignorance and public apathy. At present the materials for a census of prisoners do not exist. The International Penal and Penitentiary Commission is carrying out a careful inquiry into penal conditions in various countries. It includes, amongst other matters, that of the prison population, but their published results as yet cover 22 countries only. This inquiry confirms what we have ourselves discovered in an endeavour to arrive at an estimate of numbers, that statistics are still very inadequate, and where they exist are compiled on such different bases as to make comparison extremely difficult.

We respectfully suggest that serious improvements in justice could be obtained, important economies effected, and an enormous amount of needless suffering avoided if the States members of the League of Nations and others could be induced to (1) keep and publish accurate statistics regarding all persons deprived of their liberty by the State; (2) make known to each other (through annual reports to the League of Nations as well as by participation in the quinquennial congresses of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission) any methods, whether relating to the treatment of offenders without imprisonment or to changes of law or administrative procedure, which they have actually proved to diminish the number of persons whom it is found necessary to deprive of liberty.

A further note in the editorial of the *Manchester Guardian* will interest our readers:

The truth is that in an increasing number of States religion, race, and politics, or simply suspicion, are grounds for imprisonment, and that where law is a flexible instrument in the hands of governors the guiding rule is "If in doubt, lock a man up." It is wiser to insist, as the Howard League does, on the mistakenness rather than on the injustice of this system, and to appeal that our attentions may not be so distracted by political affairs that we neglect all humanitarian causes.

AMENDMENTS TO THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

THE partisan attack on the Security Act during the last weeks of the presidential campaign acquainted a large public with federal old age benefits and the sources from which the funds to provide them are drawn, so that the election registered widespread support of a system of old age benefits without a means test. Moreover, the attack on employee contributions by Governor Landon and by conservative Republican news-

papers will undoubtedly mean that labor will successfully demand that the tax on the incomes of the workers for old age benefits will be eliminated and the necessary funds supplied by the employers or the federal treasury. Whether it will be possible to persuade Congress to begin payment of benefits before 1942 and make some provision for the wives of the employed is more difficult to forecast. Other amendments of the Security Act should be considered at this time. We list here only a few for consideration of *Review* readers.

With reference to unemployment compensation the following are suggested: (1) prohibition of employee contributions; (2) reduction of the waiting period and extension of the benefit period to, say twenty weeks, by a system of grants-in-aid from the federal treasury; (3) unemployment assistance after earned benefits are exhausted in the form of public works and direct assistance; and (4) removal of the Unemployment Compensation Bureau of the Social Security Board to the Labor Department so as to insure a close tie-up with the employment service.

As to the existing assistance program, since old age assistance and aid to dependent children are on a needs basis, social workers will agree that the maximum grants should be eliminated from the federal law and reimbursement of one-half of the state expenditure be substituted. As need is the test of eligibility, the need must be met.

Health insurance was omitted from the social-security program because of medical opposition. The Council of the American Federation of Labor has recommended health insurance to the Tampa Convention of the Federation. A compulsory contributory scheme which like the English system would provide both cash and medical benefits has many advocates in the United States. There are also those, the *Review* among them, who prefer "universal provision for medical care" rather than contributory health insurance. While sickness is a major cause of insecurity and dependency, there seems little prospect of the adoption of a national program of medical care this year. But there is no opposition among doctors to "cash benefits" during sickness or to "invalidity pensions" for those rendered unable to work by a chronic disease or disability before they are eligible for old age benefits or pensions. Would it, therefore, not be possible to combine with unemployment compensation cash benefits for those unemployed because of sickness in the same amounts and for the same maximum periods as unemployment compensation? Similarly, invalidity pensions financed by federal and local governments could follow the general lines of old age assistance. At any rate, they should both be considered by social workers.

CONGRATULATIONS TO MRS. GLENN AND THE
FAMILY WELFARE ASSOCIATION

MESSAGES in appreciation of the faithful services generously rendered over a long period of time by Mrs. John M. Glenn reached the dinner given in her honor last month in New York City. Mrs. Glenn is retiring from the presidency of this national organization, which she has served in countless ways since its organization in 1911. The Society begins its second quarter of a century after a revolution in methods of public social work and new efforts on the part of private societies to meet recently discovered needs as yet only vaguely seen.

Social workers in many fields would like to share with the Family Society in expressing grateful appreciation of the services of Mrs. Glenn to social work. President of the National Conference when it was still called "Charities and Correction," active in children's work and in the various social activities of the Episcopalian church, Mrs. Glenn is best known for her share in the pioneer efforts to make good case-work agencies of the family welfare societies of this country.

Mr. and Mrs. Glenn were both identified in this country with the great services of Mary E. Richmond, and they shared with enthusiasm her various new undertakings, such as the establishment of the Family Welfare Association of America, which was known first as the National Association of Societies for Organizing Charity. The National Association calls our attention to the changes in social work which are

well symbolized by the changes in name of the Association. In 1924 it became the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, and in 1929 it took the present name, Family Welfare Association of America, which implies a concentration not upon organizing charity or upon organizing family societies, but rather upon the promotion of family welfare. In this span of twenty-five years from its beginning to the present time, the Association has increased from its original 59 member agencies to 240 member agencies located throughout the United States and Canada.

A personal word from the editors of this *Review* would recall the interest which Mrs. Glenn had in the early beginnings of the schools of social work. In the days when the "Chicago School" was living precariously from "hand to mouth," Mrs. Glenn was one of the good friends in the case-work field who was willing to make an annual pilgrimage to Chicago to encourage students and staff members. Those visits of Mrs. Glenn not only helped the School but the local case-work agencies which, twenty-five years ago, were only struggling efforts to meet a multitude of community needs. Mrs. Glenn's annual visit to Chicago, when she spent a week

staying at Hull-House and lecturing at the "old School," are still remembered with warm appreciation. The editors of the *Social Service Review* join with her many Chicago friends in appreciation of the services of Mrs. Glenn and the Family Welfare Association of America. What effect the growth of the public social services may have upon this Association is still to be determined, but, whatever that may be, congratulations on the quarter of a century of service just completed are well deserved.

THE CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT

THE responsibility for ratifying the amendment is still ours, and fortunately there is great enthusiasm and real drive for that objective in a number of states. Twenty-four states have ratified; thirty-six ratifications are needed for adoption. Governor Lehman spoke for the amendment again and again in his election campaign; it was a real issue in the election of members of the legislature in Texas, and the friends of the amendment are reported to have triumphed. The Farm Bureau Federation has joined the Child Labor Committee, organized labor, women's organizations, the National Education Association, and the American Legion in indorsing the amendment. At the Third National Conference on Labor Legislation, which met at the call of Secretary Perkins in Washington in November, there was a frank facing of difficulties and an eager determination to secure ratification. Progress has been made. The South no longer presents a united front against it as it did ten years ago. The way should be cleared for action in a number of states. Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, and South Dakota should now be ready to take their places along with the states adjacent to them in support of the children. Massachusetts still seems hopeless, but Governor Lehman and the newly organized American Labor party ought to be able to take care of New York. The National Child Labor Committee has issued a useful handbook on the history of the amendment and will be actively waging its campaign on all fronts during the 1937 legislative sessions with, it is to be hoped, the active support of social workers.

NEW NATIONAL RELIEF STATISTICS

IN CONNECTION with its plan for the registration of public assistance statistics on a national scale, an Advisory Committee on the Collection of General Relief Statistics has been appointed by the Social Security Board and includes the following names: chairman, Ralph G. Hurlin, of

the Russell Sage Foundation; Paul Webbink, of the Committee on Social Security, Social Science Research Council; Frederick F. Stephan, secretary of the American Statistical Association; Ewan Clague, associate director, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board; and Emerson Ross, director, Division of Research, Statistics and Records, WPA.

The Social Security Board is now issuing a new series of three formal publications presenting statistics of public assistance. They are as follows:

Public Assistance—Monthly Statistics for the U.S.: This is a four-page monthly summary. The eighth issue, containing August data, has already appeared.

Public Assistance—Quarterly Review of Statistics for the U.S.: The first issue, covering the first quarter of 1936, appeared early in October. It contains interpretive text and detailed statistics, by states, of assistance to the aged, dependent children, and the blind. A supplement contains March data for individual counties.

Public and Private Relief in Urban Areas: This is the former Children's Bureau publication. The latest issue, containing June data, was published jointly by the two organizations.

In addition, at the beginning of each month mimeographed news releases are issued giving the latest available data, state by state, on recipients and amounts in each category of relief and estimates for two succeeding months.

THE THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON LABOR LEGISLATION

FROM November 9 to 11, directors and staff members of state and federal labor departments, representatives of state federations of labor and international unions, of the American Association for Labor Legislation, the Consumers' League, the A.A.S.W., and other national organizations interested in the promotion of better labor standards met in Washington under the chairmanship of the Secretary of Labor. There were no set speeches. Instead, for three days in general sessions and in committees labor legislation and its effective administration were discussed. Committee reports on industrial health and safety, workmen's compensation, hours of work, minimum wage, child labor standards, apprentice training, unemployment compensation and employment services, regulation of private employment agencies, and vacations with

pay were adopted.¹ The progress made in labor legislation since the first Conference met in 1934 is astonishing. The South has entered a new era. The regional conferences on labor legislation and the other assistance rendered by the United States Department of Labor, particularly its Bureau of Standards, the passage of the Wagner-Peyser and Social Security acts, and progress in union organization are perhaps the immediate stimuli. Appreciation of the value of in-service training for factory inspectors by the director of the Illinois and other state departments was also a good omen. More than any other one person the Secretary of Labor has been responsible for the great progress made toward better labor standards through labor legislation. Another four years under her leadership would mean consolidation of gains already made and much greater progress in the future.

¹ Committee reports and Resolutions adopted can be obtained from the Division of Labor Standards, U.S. Department of Labor.

COMMUNICATIONS

EXPOSITORS of the juvenile court should welcome the critical appraisal of the court and its shortcomings in the thoughtful article of Grace Abbott in the June *Social Service Review*. It is hardly necessary to state that Miss Abbott is a friendly critic and has herself done much to develop these courts and to define their status. That development of juvenile courts and definition of their status are needed goes without saying. They have suffered from the same administrative faults as other public agencies and in addition have had to fight against the inherited conservatism of the law and the administration of justice. They have too often attempted or been forced to deal with cases that could better be dealt with by another type of agency, if such agency existed.

While additional non-court agencies to deal preventively with delinquent children and delinquent situations are needed in many communities, I cannot agree with the implication of Miss Abbott's paper that such agencies could take over in large measure the work of the court. Miss Abbott suggests but does not clearly describe such an agency. She refers to "neighborhood centers to which parents could turn for help in child training, just as they have turned to health centers for guidance in the physical care of infants and preschool children." One wonders under what auspices these centers could be established. What authority would they have to treat delinquent children and neglectful parents? Would they not require the powers and personnel of a court? What evidence is there that such "centers" or other agencies that could be conceived might not acquire all the faults that juvenile courts now have and perhaps others besides? To the writer the conclusion reached by the Gluecks after their critical study of the Boston Court is a sounder one—namely, that the juvenile court should be given more scope and above all more adequate personnel and develop a more satisfactory co-ordination with clinics and other agencies in order to take its appropriate place in the community as the authoritative public agency dealing not alone with delinquent children and youth but, equally important, with delinquent parents.

Those who are in close touch with the work of the better-equipped juvenile courts, especially of some of the recently improved courts—e.g., in Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Buffalo, and Los Angeles, to mention a few—are not ready to admit that the court is a failure or that its work has not shown at least as many "cures" or adjustments as other agencies dealing with the difficult problem of delinquency. Workers in such courts have experience of numerous cases of reasonably permanent adjustment.

There have not yet been enough competent case studies in juvenile courts to justify the statement that the results obtained have been discouraging. Be-

lievers in the sound principles back of the court have hesitated to urge such evaluating studies because of the great difficulties in arriving at any sound statistical criteria as to success and failure. Every such appraisal of the work of the court or any other agency should be correlated with the equipment and personnel of that court or agency. If the work done by a court in one or a series of cases is deemed a failure because of too great a percentage of repeaters, that does not prove the inefficacy of the juvenile court itself. It may mean that the judge who dealt with the particular cases was inexperienced or, even more important, that the case-workers of the court were lacking in training or skill or, as often happens, so overburdened with other work that they could not do justice to those who failed.

Miss Abbott asks what type of cases now commonly dealt with by the juvenile court could be handled more successfully by some other agency. This is a fair question; but her answer seems to be that all delinquent and neglected children, except where there is dispute as to custody or where the question of compulsory commitment arises, could be better handled by some agency other than the court, and she accepts the estimate of Judge Charles W. Hoffman, of the Domestic Relations Court of Cincinnati, that only about 10 per cent of the cases now before the juvenile courts are of that category. To support such a suggestion Miss Abbott and certain other social workers contend that the juvenile court is primarily a judicial agency, concerned with matters of law and legal rights and chiefly distinguished by the use of force and authority. But is not this just what supporters of the juvenile court have always opposed? They have been saying, in season and out, that the juvenile court is essentially not a court as formerly conceived; that it is, or should be, primarily a social agency; that its problems are chiefly social not legal; that force and authority should be kept in the background. The power to coerce which society has given to the court is unfortunately necessary at times, but it is often more effective if kept far in the background. One thing is certain: It is usually impossible to tell in advance or at what particular stage in dealing with a delinquent or neglected child this power to coerce must be brought out into the open.

Clearly it is a measure of the success of the juvenile-court treatment that disputes as to custody or the use of any sort of force or compulsion are avoided as much as possible. The court should be so equipped and conducted that it will be resorted to more and more for the very services for which Miss Abbott would establish a new agency. Many parents today consult the better juvenile courts for guidance and help in child-training. It should be increasingly possible that children and youth could come to the court without fear to receive friendly guidance. The faults and shortcomings of juvenile courts are not inherent in their makeup. Not because it is called a court is the use of fear and authority too much in evidence. The same evils have been noted again and again in school-attendance bureaus and even in private child-caring agencies.

Much of the criticism of juvenile courts seems to center on the judge. It might be well if this ancient and honorable title could be changed to "director"

or some other less fearsome appellation, but the more feasible process of changing the public attitude toward the title can be and has been accomplished by some of our finer juvenile-court judges. Miss Abbott points out that a majority of juvenile-court judges begin their work with no special training or experience except as lawyers. This is true, but it ought not to be so. The position of juvenile- or family-court judge in a community is an important and unique one. There is no earthly reason why high standards of training and special ability should not be enforced. More than once representative social workers and other citizens have succeeded in their demands for the selection or retention of well-qualified judges. To mention concrete examples, judges with training and experience in social work, through the backing of community social agencies, have of late been appointed or elected in the cities of Washington, Pittsburgh, and Buffalo.

Organized citizen interest will always be necessary, but in addition new legislation is needed. The juvenile or family court should be separated from all other courts, and some method for nominating or qualifying the judges must be devised. There is no real reason why the judge and every other employee of the court should not be placed under civil service along with first-class postmasters! The proposal has been seriously urged in one state, Utah, where judges are appointed by a state juvenile-court commission, that competitive examinations be held for judges as well as probation officers with definite training and experience in child welfare work required.

But let us not overemphasize the judge. He or she (the number of women judges is increasing) is chiefly important as the administrative head of the court. The actual decisions in most children's cases and the carrying-out of the treatment in many of the more progressive courts today is in the hands of trained referees or probation officers aided by the psychiatric clinic. The clinic should not be considered an auxiliary service outside the court; it should be a part of the court's diagnostic and treatment setup. Miss Abbott neglected to state in referring to the Court of Domestic Relations (the juvenile court) of Cincinnati that 90 per cent of the cases—those which involve no dispute as to custody or no question of commitment to an institution—are dealt with in that court not by the judge personally but by experienced and trained referees and probation officers aided by a competent clinic. In four of our states and parts of two others all probation officers are selected under the civil service and their positions have been thereby largely removed from the political arena. Why in this day of progressivism cannot this obvious improvement be speedily extended to all other states?

I have indicated a few of the outstanding needs of juvenile courts before they can attain the ideals of their founders. Much remains to be done. Friends of the court and of the child ought to combine to bring about greater progress, not giving way to pessimism because of breakdowns and failures in some of our cities and because of slow progress in extending the protection of the court in most rural areas. My plea to social workers, who are more vitally interested in

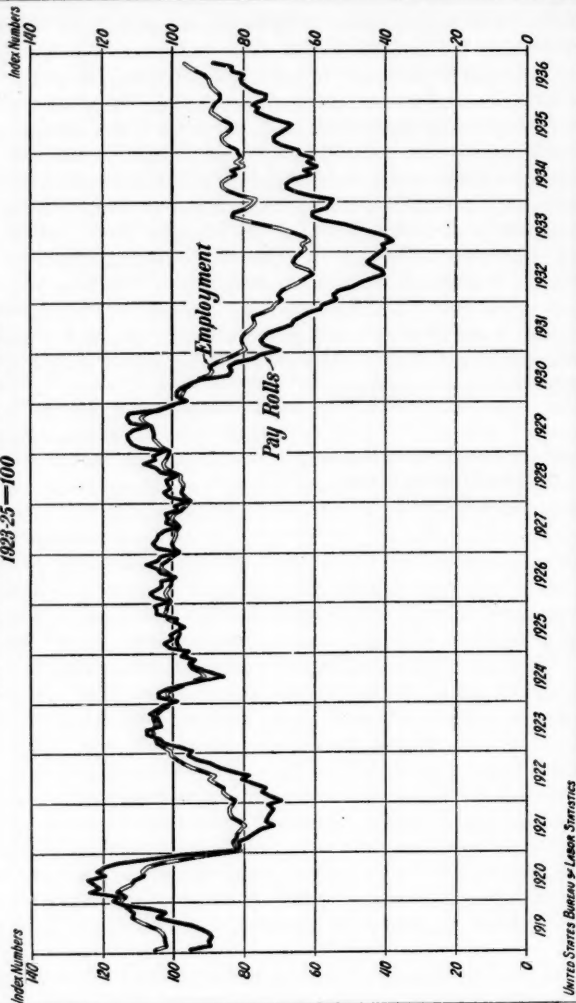
obtaining good juvenile courts than any other group, is that they continue the fight really to test the possibilities of the socially organized court. Every effort ought to be made to reduce the load of the juvenile court. Wherever possible, delinquency should be prevented by reaching the predelinquent and by removing the environmental causes leading to delinquency. More work with pre-delinquents ought to be done in the schools and in the health, recreational, and child-caring agencies. The police can play a rôle through juvenile bureaus with officers selected and trained to make helpful contacts with families and children. The community co-ordinating council, which is merely the getting-together of representatives of all these agencies for joint planning, has proved valuable in promoting interchange of information, organizing co-operation, and especially in attacking the environmental causes of delinquency. Let us hope for other experiments in this field. No community today can look with satisfaction upon its delinquency rate. But let us also go forward to develop and, if need be, to reorganize our juvenile courts, which are still doing pioneer work in the treatment and prevention of delinquency.

CHARLES L. CHUTE

Executive Director

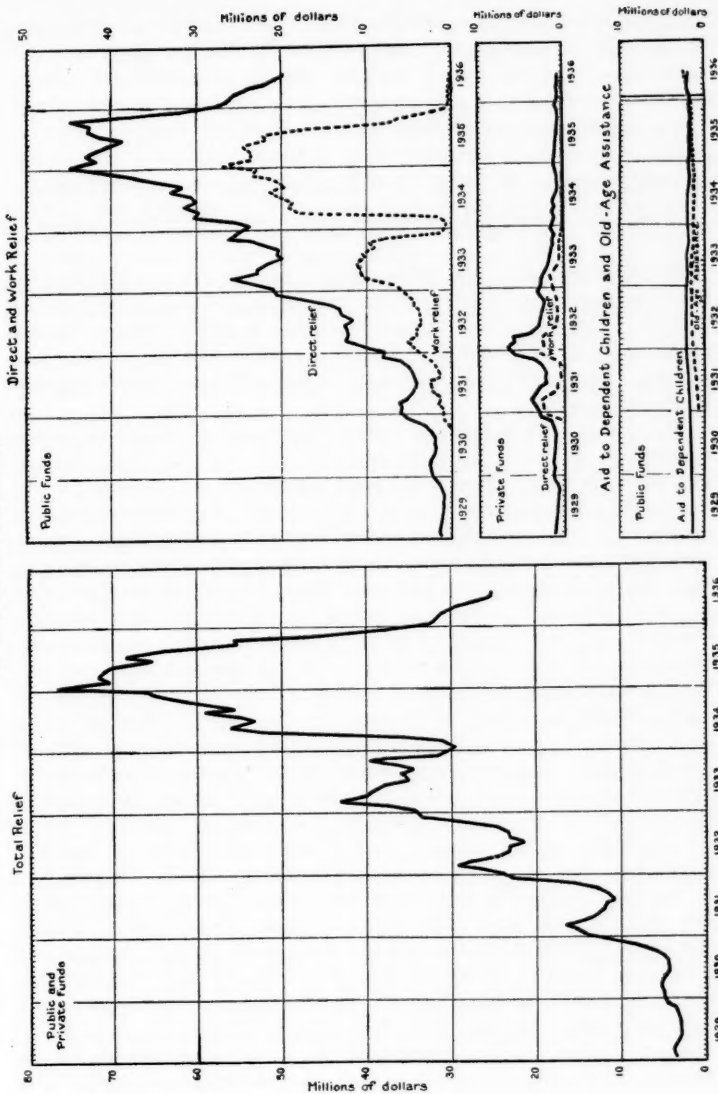
NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION
50 WEST FIFTIETH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

EMPLOYMENT & PAY ROLLS¹ *All Manufacturing Industries* 1923-25=100



¹ The indexes of factory employment and pay-rolls through October, 1936, as shown on the foregoing chart have been revised and adjusted to the Census of Manufactures totals for 1933. The revised general index of factory employment for October, 1936, is 96.5 and the revised pay-roll index is 88.9.

RELIEF EXPENDITURES IN 120 URBAN AREAS* (U.S. Social Security Board)



*Excludes expenditures under the Civil Works Administration, November, 1933-March, 1934, and under the Works Progress Administration, August 1935-July 1936

BOOK REVIEWS

The Diagnosis and Treatment of Behavior-Problem Children. By HARRY BAKER and VIRGINIA TRAPHAGEN. New York: Macmillan, 1935. Pp. xiv+393. \$2.50.

This book presents a series of tests evolved through six years' experimentation in an attempt to formulate more accurate diagnostic techniques and remedial measures for children who are behavior problems. It aims at the measurement of the emotional fields underlying behavior problems. The authors state that this measurement of behavior motivation is not, and cannot become, a simple mechanized process.

The Detroit Scale of Behavior Factors, which has been devised for accomplishing this purpose, as well as the discussion of the use of this Scale which is set forth in the book, impress one as being complicated to a degree that would preclude its ever being regarded as "simple." The very nature of its approach to people—that is, the methods used in assembling the diagnostic material—would seem to be routine, and how it could escape being a "mechanized process" is not clear. One might question also the logic of the authors' stated assumption that because intellectual differences have been successfully measured, emotional fields should likewise be measurable. One might question also their statement that intellectual differences have been as yet successfully measured. With each year we grow increasingly less impressed with the validity of present-day psychological measurements. The limitations of these methods are well recognized by clinical groups. In dealing with children, particularly those who are emotionally disturbed, there is ever growing awareness that the method used in the psychological test situation tends to defeat its purpose. The formal questioning and the routinized test situation frequently create anxieties and tensions which prevent the child from functioning up to par—thereby causing him to respond at a lower level than he might if he were in a situation in which he felt free.

The method utilized in these measurements approximates the psychological test situation—that is, it is essentially a direct-question method, utilizing standardized inquiries into standardized areas—and in so doing it repeats its limitations. In the emotional area these limitations may have even wider implications. A child may answer questions on factual matter outside himself, as involved in the psychological tests, fairly objectively. He recites what he remembers or brings into play his reasoning powers on problems outside himself, providing he is not too confused by fear of a test experience or blocked by inner conflicts. Questions as to how he feels about himself and about other persons upon whom he is dependent and with whom he is emotionally involved can but

bring a different response. The relatively unproblematic child who presumably then is relatively well adjusted and therefore comfortable in his relationships probably would have less difficulty than the problematic child. He *might be* more revealing. The problem child—for whom this scale has been devised—however, is prone to have involved relationships, disturbed feelings due to external pressures and internal conflicts, and he therefore is seldom free to reveal himself. Direct questions almost inevitably drive him to protect himself through being as obscure as possible. Information derived through the direct questioning of children is of questionable value if taken literally. The child's attitudes and emotional response as evidenced in the way he reacts in the situation would constitute the more valid data emerging in this setting. To rely on this method is to reveal a certain naïveté about children. It ignores their well-recognized tendency to talk for the approval of the adult and to withhold or disguise when subjected to an inquisition. It ignores also the child's tendency to enact his feelings rather than to verbalize them. These tendencies on the part of children have long been recognized by psychiatrists who in the early days of clinical work imposed just such an artificial approach in the form of a formal interview in which the child was questioned about intimate feelings and experiences. The questionable results in terms of valid diagnostic material and the dubious if not destructive therapeutic values are leading to the abandonment of this approach by progressive psychiatrists. Today in the psychiatric interview the child is given an opportunity to function through the medium of play activity—his natural mode of expression. As he plays he enacts his real feelings and affords the observer more valid diagnostic material as well as a more productive therapeutic opportunity. In any measurement of behavior motivations it will be necessary to afford the child a situation in which he feels natural if he is to reveal himself so that we may understand and help him, not to mention measure him.

In the method presented in this book information extracted from the children is supplemented by information extracted by the same formalized procedure from the parents and other adults who presumably know them. Some of the same implications are inherent in this method with adults as with children. Recognition of the limitations of standardized inquiry with adults has led to drastic changes in interviewing methods among social workers during the past several years. In short, the voluminous material gathered in any study of a child by the method described herein impresses one as presenting a wealth of material about the child and his manifold problems without giving much basic understanding of him. It gives all that the child chooses to tell about himself in response to an approach which would tend to block the expression of his true feelings; it gives all that the parent cares to reveal out of his deep understanding or gross misunderstanding in response to a method which likewise might readily make him protective. It gives all that others see, think, or feel, regardless of their misconceptions about him. This material is then catalogued, evaluated, and weighted by an examiner whose whole philosophy of life and of human be-

havior would predetermine the rating of any item in the sixty-six items which for some reason have been arbitrarily chosen as being particularly significant. The subjective element entering here is evidenced in the following statement: "The scheme of scoring is not intended to be arbitrary; it should be interpreted in terms of the emotional effects upon children. For example, if a child has had many illnesses but never *any bad mental* effects [*italics mine*], the scoring should probably be at least one point or step better than the mere number of illnesses would indicate." Therefore, if the number of illnesses would rate him (1) at the bottom of the scale he would be given (2). Why the one step higher? Why not two steps or three; in fact, if he has suffered no bad mental effects, why not place him at the top of the scale and give him (5)? Incidentally, one might ask, how does one determine that the specific illness experiences have netted him no "bad mental effects." Here one encounters one more fundamental weakness in this scheme. In any evaluation of human behavior we are dealing with multiple causation. It is therefore impossible to isolate any one experience and with certainty say that this has produced that. Therefore, when a child presents behavior disturbances, how can one maintain that certain illnesses played no part? On what basis does one assign the behavior to certain other experiences? If it is on the basis of what the child says or what the parents or others think, then again one is thrown back on subjective evidence in spite of this studied attempt at standardized laboratory methods. The material evaluated is no more valid than that secured by any social worker or psychiatrist. In fact, the latter stand a chance of securing more valid material because they are not obstructed by the impeding method utilized here. In so far as they afford the individual a chance to be spontaneous their chances of seeing him as he is are heightened.

Another limitation inherent in the method presented in this book is that which has emerged before in similar approaches which have concentrated on a detailed segmentation of the individual. The result is that he is seen in parts and becomes a bundle of problems or, in this instance, an array of items. The task of getting "Humpty Dumpty" back together again so that his behavior emerges as a unified response to a total situation is difficult once clinicians have become engrossed in the pieces. The treatment that is prone to emerge in the wake of this diagnostic method is a treatment of problems, an attack on this or that portion of the whole person who frequently has been overlooked in his own débris. This very method of study ignores the individual and his feelings, thereby obstructing treatment at the start.

What this pretentious attempt at pure science yields in terms of findings is set down in Part IV, entitled "Case Studies, Statistical Evaluations and Conclusions." Here one notes in particular the case studies which in each case give a behavior rating, in connection with which there is a meager portrayal of the child himself. As one reads the summaries one gets the impression that the score does not mean much. Some children with high scores seem less healthy or potentially more pathological than those with lower scores. For example:

Case 2, Score 294 points, Rating B.—She was a fourteen-year-old girl and was selected as a model child in terms of behavior. Her poor items were No. 32, pity, sympathy, enthusiasm, etc., in which she is known to be rather extreme, for example, becoming nearly hysterical at some pitiful sight or experience, and item 52 on the number of children in the family, in which she is next to the youngest of eight children and somewhat inclined to be spoiled and petted by the older members of the family. The entire range of items and general impression coincide closely in showing that she is a model child from the standpoint of behavior.

Any clinician would burn to know this child.

In conclusion, one might well question, Why measure behavior motivations? It is essential to understand the motivations and to see the purpose that they are serving the individual in order to help him. The degree of his response—that is, how emotionally disturbed he is—may be a subject of academic interest, but it is less significant in treatment than other factors. Many individuals who manifest extreme behavior are readily modified. Others who present mild behavior deviations may be rigid and unmodifiable. Other factors are now recognized to be of greater significance in treatment than the degree of the disorder. In short, this book typifies academic psychology of the sort that, having itemized, weighted, and correlated facts, apparently has realized its goal. The viewpoint is academic to the point of being naïve about human behavior.

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

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Can Delinquency Be Measured? By SOPHIA MOSES ROBISON. Published for the Welfare Council of New York City by Columbia University Press, New York, 1936. Pp. xxvi+277. \$3.00.

The data for this study were obtained from some fifty public and private agencies that deal with juvenile offenders in New York City, including the Children's Court and the Bureau of Attendance of the school system. The facts obtained from this puzzling conglomeration of sources have been handled very judiciously. The result is an admirable piece of research, characterized throughout by thoroughness and objectivity.

Recorded delinquency in any community never represents the total volume of delinquent conduct. This fact has long been known and was clearly stated at the White House Conference of 1930. Nevertheless the belief has persisted that cases officially registered at the court represent a substantial proportion of all serious cases of delinquent conduct in the community and may therefore be used to calculate rates and indexes. This study sought, among other things, to test the validity of that belief. The files of official agencies other than the court and of unofficial sectarian and non-sectarian protective agencies were searched, and cases were abstracted that were similar to the cases found in the court. Instead of a total of 7,090 cases as reported by the Children's Court, New York actually had in 1930 a total of 15,898 children between the ages of seven and

sixteen who were under care because of delinquent behavior. The proportion of cases known by the court varied from borough to borough. In Queens 43.5 per cent of the cases were in the hands of unofficial agencies exclusively, while in Brooklyn more than three-quarters were a responsibility of the court.

The comfortable assumption that the court cases, though short of the community total, do include most of the serious offences was likewise shown to be untrue in New York City. The court cases involving stealing, for example, would have been increased by 70 per cent if they had included the cases of stealing known to other agencies in the community and not known by the court. The author's conclusion that court cases alone do not provide an adequate basis for measuring either total delinquency or even the more serious types of delinquency is given added force by her practice of including in the court count and eliminating from the case load of other organizations all cases that were known both to the court and to one of the other agencies.

The study also examines this pertinent question: "Do sex, color, age, and religious affiliation affect the numbers of children registered as delinquent in the court statistics?" The cases taken under care during 1930 showed an overwhelming preponderance of boys in all boroughs. This proportion was reduced appreciably, however, when the distribution was based on cases under care in 1930 that had been referred prior to that year. This suggests a possible tendency to apprehend girls for the more serious offenses only and to hold them longer under supervision. Since those already under care do not contribute to the intake of the court even though misbehavior continues, the conclusion is that intake figures alone are likely to understate the volume of delinquency among girls.

In like manner the author concluded from her analysis of the New York figures that delinquency rates based on court cases only would (a) include an inadequate proportion of children in the younger age group who are actually delinquent in the same sense as the older boys and girls; (b) give an unfair and exaggerated picture of the extent to which Negro children contribute to the community's delinquency problem; and (c) understate the number of delinquent children in a given religious group in any borough in which that group maintains an active agency engaged in the treatment of delinquency.

The upshot of the matter is that the author has proved very convincingly that court cases constitute only a partial, and in many respects unrepresentative, sample of the juvenile delinquency in the community. Presumably, a more accurate picture would be obtained if a central bureau collected figures from all agencies, both official and voluntary. The author does not commit herself, however, by suggesting this solution. In her effort to appraise her problem critically she seems at times to ignore the well-established fact that figures somewhat less than perfect can often be very revealing and very valuable. For example, on page 209 she says:

Obviously the program, procedures, and results in handling delinquency in a white residential suburban community like Montclair, New Jersey, are so different from those

present in a manufacturing town with a large foreign-born population, such as Paterson, New Jersey, that points of true comparison are almost impossible to establish.

For many years the only official statistics of dependency were based on the inaccurate decennial enumerations attempted in connection with the census of population and, since the turn of the century, the partial counts limited to paupers in almshouses. In recent years the United States Children's Bureau has pointed the way toward a more inclusive approach by collecting figures from all agencies, both official and voluntary, that function in the communities admitted to its registration area. Many questions can be raised concerning these figures. Unquestionably they are affected by divergent policies such as the granting of old age assistance in one locality and the remanding of aged persons to the almshouse in another. One of the values inherent in such figures is that they call attention to varying conditions and practices and thus suggest the directions in which empirical evaluations are required. Total figures from all agencies, both official and voluntary, in Montclair and Paterson would admittedly not include all cases of delinquent behavior. Rates based on these totals would reveal only the extent to which these communities had provided facilities and had succeeded in getting these facilities used. It is the contention of the reviewer that such rates, while not perfect, do have values both actual and potential.

The least satisfactory chapter in the book is the one that attempts to assess the incidence of delinquency among the foreign-born. The author's treatment here, as elsewhere, is judicious. She is guilty of none of the hasty and ill-established generalizations that have characterized much of what has been written on the subject. The defects of the chapter lie mainly in the secondary data upon which she was forced to rely, as, for example, some of the nativity figures derived from the census.

Her analysis is limited to three groups—the Irish, the Russian Jews, and the Italians. This means that nearly one-third of her cases of white delinquents of foreign or mixed parentage are grouped together in an "all other" category. Presumably, this limitation was adopted, at least partly, because of the author's preoccupation with the religion of the delinquents, which, in these three groups, was assumed to be self-evident. It would seem, however, that something might have been gained by rescuing additional nationality groups from the obscurity of the "all other" class. Mexican children, for example, though not numerous in New York City, are of special interest because they are more recently arrived in this country than the other groups.

The author is interested in recency of immigration as a factor in delinquency, but she dismisses this problem with respect to the three groups she selected for study by declaring that they represent "approximately the same immigration era." The meaning here is not precisely clear. One or both parents of all these children are of foreign birth. Hence the meaning, presumably, is that all these foreign-born parents must have reached this country fairly recently and within

the span of a limited number of years. Certainly the author does not mean that these foreign-born parents joined nationality groups all of which had been equally long established in the new land. The big influx of Russian Jews and Italians occurred in the two decades between 1900 and 1920. The major influx of the Irish came very much earlier. Recency of arrival of the individual is not the same thing as recency of arrival of the group. It would seem that a recently arrived Irish immigrant could effect a much easier adjustment than the new arrivals of the other two groups because his compatriots have been here longer, are better understood, and have for a longer period been accepted as political leaders and public servants. These New York figures show nearly one-third more delinquents among children of foreign white stock than among children of native stock. The children of Italian parentage accounted for recorded delinquency to a degree that far outstripped the other foreign groups.

Here, and at numerous other points, the author challenges the so-called "ecological theory" with which Clifford Shaw's name is usually associated. In fact, it is scarcely an overstatement to say that Mrs. Robison does not leave Shaw a leg to stand on. The New York figures show that many aspects of the ecological theory certainly do not have the universality of laws, if, indeed they can be said to have any validity or significance whatever. Shaw thinks it is the area that increases the volume of delinquency rather than the nationality residing in it. Mrs. Robison, on the contrary, believes nationality is a contributory factor. Among other things, the New York data show that the "interstitial area" hypothesis is invalid that the "radial rate" theory is at variance with the known facts, and, finally, that the "area delinquency rates" upon which the entire theoretical structure rests are probably about as accurate as a series of shrewd guesses.

No social worker engaged in the treatment or prevention of delinquency can afford to ignore this book. It is a high point of achievement in the application of scientific method to the problems of American social work. The great debt acknowledged in the Preface to Dr. Neva Deardorff, the able director of the New York Welfare Council's Research Bureau, in no degree diminishes the importance of the contribution which the author herself has made.

WAYNE McMILLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Theory of Social Work. By FRANK J. BRUNO. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1936. Pp. xi+646. \$4.00.

This is the thirteenth volume in the "Heath Social Relations Series," of which Professor Jerome Davis is the general editor. Other volumes relate (1) to sociological theory and concepts with volumes on *An Introduction to Sociology*, *An Introduction to the Sociology of the Great Society*, *An Introduction to Educational Sociology*, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, *The Concepts of Sociology*,

Readings in Sociology; and, to come, a *History of Sociological Thought* and an *Introduction to the Study of Social Statistics*; (2) to problems of migration and race with volumes on *Immigration and Race Attitudes*, *Immigration and Assimilation*, and *Race Attitudes: Adjustment of Whites and Negroes in the United States*; (3) to economics with a volume on *Economics and Ethics*; (4) to the family with a volume on *Personality and the Family*; and (5) to criminology with a volume under that title. It can easily be seen that preceding and accompanying volumes in this series alone provide a considerable body of general background for the social worker. Of this volume itself, Mr. Davis in an editorial Foreword explains that social work has grown up without any generally recognized scientific or philosophic base—which would seem to make choice of the title of this volume a little questionable—and that

a course in the fundamentals of social work has long been needed. In this volume the author has attempted to treat thoroughly just such a foundation, covering the biologic elements, the psychological aspects of behavior, and the social and economic environment of social work. . . . This book is a pioneer work in mapping out the fundamental background knowledge which everyone in the social work field should have.

Mr. Bruno adds in his Preface the further explanation that "while this book is primarily intended for the classroom, the interests of the general reader are not overlooked." In the treatment of the underlying social sciences the author reports (p. 22) that it has been his object

to examine such theories in these scientific disciplines as have been formative in the development of the practice of social work. . . . As an introduction to the subject, this study will deal strictly with what has taken place in the interaction between theory and practice, offering no excuses for its partial treatment of the sciences under discussion. If it succeeds in bringing within the compass of one text the area of the argument and the applications of sciences in the field of social work, that will be ample justification for its otherwise illogical selection and arrangement of material.

Mr. Bruno specifically declines to attempt any analysis "of the way in which these [i.e., the social sciences] or other sciences may be of value to social work."

Within these intentions Mr. Bruno sets forth on his exceedingly difficult task of selective synthesis of science already applied in the field of social work, itself admittedly still in a state not characterized by very much adherence to a common intellectual base. In doing that he covers a wide territory in which there is review of existing scientific knowledge of heredity and mental defect, insanity, health, immunity and disease, syphilis and social hygiene, alcohol, and the endocrine glands. There is description of the social and economic problems clustering around the family, organized recreation, industry (wages, child labor, and unemployment), housing, and the social insurances.

Mr. Bruno not only outlines the outstanding scientific conclusions on these many subjects but also adds a good many bits of knowledge gained through the practice of social work and without benefit of social science. His most telling point of this kind, reiterated throughout the book and summarized at the end, is that, while it is necessary to departmentalize endeavors in the realm of social

science and to isolate aspects of human life in order to study them carefully, those who would deal with human beings at first hand and in terms of their well-being, happiness, and social efficiency find that really to understand one personality and to proceed on a scientific course of action with him not only necessitates application of all that is now known or would be subsumed under each one of the scientific disciplines but also something besides. This plus inheres in the fact that although each human being may have the same basic elements in his physical and mental makeup as other human beings, his combination of them is in some degree unique and this difference, though slight, may make the difference between success and failure for him in social adjustment and in capacity to live his own life without any special attention from social workers or social scientists, and can easily defeat efforts to aid him that do not allow for it.

Some scientific and philosophic minds are stimulated by the quest to find the likeness in that with which they deal. Other minds emphasize the variation. In modern social work, as well as in the other social arts of medicine, teaching, and the ministry, the practitioner must see both likeness and difference and try to harmonize them in a program that opens the way for the person to exercise his capacity both for self-direction and for social co-operation. That is an exercise of extraordinary difficulty with scientific knowledge serving in but one sector on a wide front of mental activity. Referring to the possibility of utilizing science in social work, Mr. Bruno closes his argument with these words:

There is a way between, although on either side are perils produced by the rigidity and unreality of the scientific formulas, or by a feeling of despair that science has not really anything to offer. And that way is marked by the tentativeness of method which is truly scientific, as well as by a courageous belief in the guidance which the sciences can furnish.

One is impressed by Mr. Bruno's careful reviews of the elements in the questions he has chosen for discussion, by his courage in facing scientific and philosophical *impasses* of importance to social workers, by the obvious sincerity with which he presents these intellectual problems, and by the flashes of insight into human affairs and, sometimes, of delicate humor with which he clothes his thought. While in any work of this synthetic character evenness of treatment of subject matter is not to be expected, each subject is treated in a way to get the student off to a good start in quest of further light. On the whole, Mr. Bruno has ably and at the same time modestly reviewed the intellectual interests of the profession he represents.

NEVA R. DEARDORFF

WELFARE COUNCIL OF NEW YORK CITY

Spending To Save: The Complete Story of Relief. By HARRY L. HOPKINS.
New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1936. Pp. x + 197. \$1.50.

This small volume, published in popular form instead of appearing as a public document, presents Mr. Hopkins' point of view regarding the sequence of im-

portant events in which he participated. Apparently the administrator became so absorbed in the things that failed to happen before he arrived that he found it difficult to find any time to tell the story of what he did, or did not do, himself. As a result, one-half of the book is devoted to a well-deserved indictment of the "do-nothing" policy of the Hoover administration, and Mr. Hopkins' "complete story" of his own relief activities begins on page 97 and ends on page 187. Surely Mr. Hopkins does not want us to think that the "complete story" of FERA, CWA, and WPA, not to mention FSRC and the Rural Rehabilitation Division, can be told in ninety pages. No, Mr. Hopkins, social workers think better of you than that!

Mr. Hopkins seems to have had the use of the files of the President's Emergency Committee for Unemployment, often called the Woods Committee, and he quotes some interesting material from the *Proceedings* of this Committee. It is important to have a record made of this pre-New-Deal period, but, of course, this is not a complete record. For example, much less than justice is done to Mr. Fred C. Croxton, who was really the predecessor of Mr. Hopkins as federal relief administrator, without the title and the recognition that went to Mr. Hopkins. He is described (p. 50) as "Fred C. Croxton of the Woods Committee," and later as "Assistant Director of the Gifford organization." There are references also to letters written to Mr. Croxton and an occasional letter from him. But he is always described as "Fred C. Croxton of the Gifford Committee" or "Fred C. Croxton of the Gifford organization" (pp. 85-86), and there is nothing to indicate that the later administrator of relief, who actually took over the valuable results of the earlier federal relief organization ever knew that Mr. Croxton really was the federal relief administrator who allocated the first \$300,000,000 of federal relief funds to the states and, measured by later emergency-relief standards, did it very well.

The Croxton field representatives who dealt with governors and legislatures had been very successful in certain areas in getting state relief committees or commissions set up and relief grants from the state legislatures. Mr. Croxton and his lieutenants, many of whom graduated immediately into the new federal relief administration, worked earnestly, intelligently, and honestly. But social workers do not need to be told about Fred Croxton, whose greatest mistake, which is not pointed out by Mr. Hopkins, was a too great allegiance to President Hoover and a too ready acceptance of the Hoover point of view.

Not only were the activities of the Croxton field staff taken over by the new FERA, but very unfortunately the hand-to-mouth method of making grants was also adopted. Grants were made only for very short periods, usually from month to month, according to the administrator's best guess as to what the states or local authorities could, or could not, afford to pay. The account given by Mr. Hopkins of his own method of making grants, which we give below, deserves thoughtful study:

How much a state can afford to appropriate for unemployment relief is never a purely factual matter; it is largely a matter of opinion. Confronted in many states by the

reluctance of appropriating bodies, or by constitutional limitations upon the borrowing power, we employed experts in taxation and public finance to advise us as to what we might reasonably expect. Clearly all states and cities cannot contribute equally. Intensity of unemployment varies widely from state to state and region to region. Per capita wealth differs, as do legal restrictions. In the main, our efforts to urge state and local communities to contribute large amounts were successful without our resorting to drastic measures. In some instances the effort resulted in a public fight in which we were not always successful. Occasionally states were not willing to act until they were threatened with withdrawal of Federal funds, and then grudgingly. Our dislike of falling back upon this means of pressure was that it victimized not the state official or the members of the legislature, but that the suffering fell upon the unemployed [pp. 97-98].

No comment on this paragraph seems possible here.

The discussion in this volume indicates some confusion on the part of the administrator when he turns to the problems of taxation. For example, there is the statement that "Our experience demonstrates that in joint action between state and local governments the state should use its own taxing power rather than pass this burden along to the small home owner" (p. 98). It may be questioned whether this remark about the superiority of the state's "own taxing power" is quite clear to either the author or the reader. Is Mr. Hopkins satisfied that the iniquitous state sales taxes, which were finally adopted, often under pressure from his staff, were so much better than property taxes? Were deductions from gasoline taxes that were greatly needed for road construction so much to be preferred during a period of unemployment? In a few states, of course, income taxes were available; but this was not generally true. Apparently with the reprehensible governor of Kansas in mind, Mr. Hopkins makes the further charge that

Those states which took advantage of their real or alleged constitutional limitations laid a crushing burden upon their local communities, which raise 85 per cent of their taxes from real estate. For the very reason that such taxation was necessary, real estate was frequently unable to support it [p. 98].

But here again one wonders whether the administrator is not a little confused and does not remember that what are local taxes in some states are state taxes in another. In New York City, for example, the sales tax is a city tax. In Chicago the sales tax is a state tax. It is true that there is some equalization as between richer and poorer communities, but it really makes very little difference to the person who pays the sales tax whether he is paying it to the city or to the state.

Civil Works and Works Progress each have a chapter. Here we have the defense of work relief with which every social worker is familiar. But are the real questions at issue squarely faced? First, why was it necessary to have these two work programs set up so hastily that great waste was entailed in the process? For example, why was CWA suddenly set up in the fall of 1933 and then suddenly demobilized in the spring of 1934, instead of planning carefully a sound and properly economical program for the spring and summer of 1934 or even for the winter of 1934-35? Surely work relief was, if anything, more needed during

the winter of 1934-35 than it was at the earlier period. With proper planning many of the unhappy results of undue haste would have been avoided, together with the ghastly consequences of turning a great agency into dire confusion to inaugurate a second program before the first was really begun. Again, why was it necessary for WPA to put 3,500,000 men to work by a given date, whether it could be economically and properly done or not? As a result of speed in reaching the goal, many men worked in severe weather, improperly clad, assigned to work for which they were not fitted, with thin underwear or none at all, with make-shift tools or none at all.

The second question about the work program is briefly this: When there is only enough money to take care of part of the people who need relief by a work-relief system, should a plan be adopted that is so costly that it means taking the shirts off the backs, and the shoes off the feet, of the people who are not included as beneficiaries of that system but who are equally in need of relief? And is not Mr. Hopkins' picture of the WPA housewife who is transformed because she can say, "My husband is working for the government," perhaps only a happy delusion—or illusion. Surely the administrator knows that many who were on WPA also remained on "supplementary relief" because the security wage was too small for large families; that others endured great hardships because the security wage was lower than the relief budget and there were no longer relief funds for supplementation; and that neighbors, employers, and the general public know them as WPA workers, thus recognizing their relief status.

This is not to disparage the values of work relief. Every social worker believes in work relief and even more in public works. But it is important that we do not let ourselves think that some miracle has been worked by calling a new program "Works Progress," when actually people are still on work relief, and the world knows they are on work relief. Do not signs decorated in red, white, and blue advertise to every passer-by that these men are in the WPA organization?

There is a curious paragraph which might almost be called a reluctant expression of agreement with those who urged that the sudden and ruthless destruction of the state ERA's would turn the long-suffering relief families back to the tender mercies of the townships and the counties.

Many who wanted the continuance of Federal relief by grants in aid to states, contended that if you gave unemployable people back to the care of the states, they would be neglected. In some places, even widely, this has proved to be true. States should never pass them on to the niggardly and degrading practices of county and township poor relief [p. 181].

Social workers will certainly rub their eyes when they read this and say, thankfully, "Better late than never." And then this very remarkable paragraph continues by proposing federal relief in the Social Security Board, by saying:

Federal aid, I believe, should be given through the Social Security Board which, with similar state and local boards, would pass this benefit as a pension without stigma to those who need it. If this be done, it is equally clear that the Social Security Board must be given power to regulate standards of administration in states and cities.

And another surprising statement is the following: "An adequate civil service made up of permanent employees is absolutely essential to the success of any pension system" (p. 181). One might perhaps ask why civil service is not equally necessary for the federal relief system, which went happily along without civil service for three and a half long years.

The administrator apparently knows something of the back-breaking burden that was borne by social workers, who are undoubtedly included in the following paragraph:

For most practical purposes the FERA was temporarily converted into the CWA. The relief staff took on new duties in addition to their old ones, working without thought of themselves, week days and holidays, day and night.

But there is a curious lack of understanding of social work when relief to farmers is under consideration. The administrator, in describing the setting up of the Rural Rehabilitation Division, explains that he decided to adopt the policy of picking out the farmer "who showed the most promise . . . relieve him of the social worker and instead place him in the hands of a Rural Rehabilitation worker, who was in reality a farm agent." Later, the farm program "also solicited the aid of the home economists." No comment is called for here about what happened to the farm relief problem when it was "relieved" of the social workers and turned over to the home economics "experts." This is a long story, and will sometime be a tale worth telling.

But however frequently, or vigorously, one may disagree with the administrator, it is necessary always to pay tribute to his glowing qualities of genuine sympathy with those who are "down and out," his honest zeal for "social justice," his outspoken scorn for those who think that the unemployed are lazy, irresponsible, or worthless, his brilliant administrative "dash" and fire.

This little book will be, to social workers, an all-too-brief but interesting account of a critical period in the social history of this country. But the author would be the first to say that a proper history of this program is still to be written.

EDITH ABBOTT

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The Art of Ministering to the Sick. By RICHARD C. CABOT, M.D., and RUSSELL L. DICKS, B.D. New York: Macmillan Co., 1936. Pp. 378. \$3.00.

The authors have written this book with the hope that it will be of interest to doctors, nurses, social workers, and to the sick themselves, as well as to the ministers to whom it is addressed primarily. Each of the authors is chiefly responsible for certain chapters, whereas in several their ideas are intermingled so closely that they cannot tell which of them wrote the various paragraphs. This is somewhat confusing to the reader who frequently asks himself the question: "Who wrote this?" It is apparent, however, that the views of the two are in such complete harmony as to give the question little significance. An attempt

has been made to follow a definite plan of organization, but it has succeeded rather poorly owing, perhaps, to the fact that the various aspects of the subject interweave so closely that it is difficult to separate them as clearly and sharply as would be desirable in an ideally analytical exposition. Nevertheless, regardless of its organization, the subject matter is valuable.

It is perhaps significant that it is addressed primarily to ministers. The authors obviously conceive of the Christian minister as one who plays the rôle of an intimate friend and confidant rather than that of a formal high priest. It is rather surprising that so little has been written on this relationship between the pastor and his parishioners. The topic is a timely one and the book fills a real need, particularly as it deals with illness, death, and bereavement.

The book opens with the question to be answered by it, namely: "Has the Protestant minister of today any good reason to visit the sick?" In the first chapter the three aims calling the minister to the sickroom are listed as "(1) to counteract the evils of specialism, (2) to give a devotion such as only religion can permanently inspire, (3) to care for the growth of souls." The first aim, that of counteracting the evils of specialism, is made necessary, apparently, by the fact that modern doctors "lack the time, the interest, and the skill to make the social and spiritual diagnosis, or to give social and spiritual treatment to their patients." The authors concede that they would prefer to see doctors treat *all* their patients' ills were it practically feasible for them to do so, rather than to turn over some of them to the nurse, social service worker, or minister. The ideal apparently is an all-round man such as Dr. Grenfell in Labrador. It must be admitted, in the opinion of the reviewer, that modern medical education does not produce and does not aim to produce this type of doctor, for the emphasis is placed upon facts and objective data pertaining to the body, its organs, and functions. On the other hand, all great physicians learn from experience the importance of these other factors. In our present age of specialization, however, the statement attributed to Dr. James H. Means may perhaps be concurred with: "I believe the patient should send for his minister when he gets sick just as he sends for his doctor." The authors note some difficulty in attempting to delimit the precise sphere of the minister, but they do succeed in making perfectly clear that it is one of assisting the physician, the nurse, the patient, and the family, of getting them all to work together under the supervision of the doctor for the good of the patient, and more particularly that "it is the minister's duty to rouse the great energies, certainties, and faiths of the Christian religion." One's opinion of this goal will depend, of course, upon his own philosophy, but it must be conceded that for those who do accept the Christian faith there is a definite opportunity and need of this type. For those who do not accept the Christian belief there is still an opportunity, according to the authors, for the minister to be of definite assistance in helping the patient to develop the courage and hope with which to overcome the suffering and the inevitable ordeals of illness. There is ever an opportunity for the minister to inspire courage and "to devote himself to the growth of souls (in the broadest

sense) at a time when pain, sorrow, frustration, and surprise bring experiences that invite a new start in life."

The chapters on preparation for such work emphasize the importance of personality and include pertinent advice with regard to one's conduct in the sickroom. Medical students are inclined to look upon these attributes of the practitioner more or less derisively as the "bedside manner" or personality of the physician as opposed to his scientific knowledge.

In connection with the situation which the minister must face, Mr. Dick discusses at some length the conditions considered by him to be the five forms of "spiritual backsliding: loneliness, boredom, fear, bitterness, and the morbid obsession of guilt." His approach to these problems is quite sane and applicable in the main to both the Christian and the non-Christian. Pain is divided into physical and mental suffering, the latter being less endurable than the former. While admitting that physical pain is almost always pure loss, four mental habits are suggested which may help us to escape bitterness and a loss of faith in a time of painful crisis: (1) get beyond the childish impulse to place personal blame on some person or object for every difficulty or hurt; (2) learn to see that nothing happens to you as a unique experience leveled at you alone by some special design; (3) learn after each experience of pain to sum it up and discover what value you can wrest from it; and (4) learn how evanescent pain is. Dr. Cabot is able to find real value in mental pain, however, for he sees it as an essential part of the growth process. The sense of growth or growth tension is seen as man's only real need on earth. "The sense of success and the sense of failure are signs that we are off the path of the growth process." When one is really on the path of growth "pain and pleasure, the awareness of success or of failure, die down to subordinate notes in the theme of growth." The meaning of the word "growth" is further amplified in the Appendix: "Growth as we use it connotes all that is morally good and all that is morally good must appear as growth. . . . Growth takes place in character, not toward character; in wisdom, not toward it. There is no goal which we approach."

The third section deals with the primary needs of the minister in the practice of his art. It is felt that he needs a bag, like a doctor or a lawyer, which should contain "some Protestant equivalent for the Roman Catholic priest's stole, wafer, and oil," if there be such; a notebook, for the events of each ministerial visit should be noted, remembered, and to a certain extent planned just as are those of the physician's visit; small gifts and surprises, preferably loans, which will provide new trains of thought and leave fresh after-images for the patient's mind, and most important of all, perhaps, ideas for the mental kitbag must be packed too. The authors emphasize the care which doctors and nurses should take in their prescription by literature, because patients have a high regard for their opinion and may be introduced inadvertently to an undesirable course of reading. The great importance, however, of a desirable reading program, as pointed out by Dr. Webb in his charming essay on *Prescription by Literature*, is emphasized.

Dr. Cabot very ably discusses, under the title "The Two Must Face a Third," the minister's relations with the sick, the danger of their dependence on him, and particularly the danger that women patients may fall in love with him. The last is admittedly difficult at times. But Dr. Cabot rejects the necessity of the "transference phenomenon," using the terminology of psychoanalysis, and feels that the situation can usually be avoided by the following precautions: (1) the maintenance of physical distance between the patient and the physician or minister; (2) the avoidance of touch; (3) the presence of a third person whenever that is possible; and (4) *the implied presence of a third person*, thereby keeping the speech and action at all times entirely as it would be if a third person were present.

In the well-written chapters on prayer and the use of Scripture one is strongly reminded of the Gifford Lectures of William James on "The Varieties of Religious Experience." Prayer and the reading of Scripture are important for the Christian if the minister is fully to "rouse the great energies, certainties, and faiths of the Christian religion," but the authors do not recommend their infliction upon the non-Christian unless he so desires. The subject of note-writing is discussed and illustrated in considerable detail. Its importance seems obvious for any minister who takes seriously the task of visiting and aiding the sick. Two chapters by Dr. Cabot conclude the section on methods. The first deals with creative assertion, by which is meant the ability, difficult to define, to recognize heroism; the almost inspired ability to recognize the rare moments when one may, by the positive expression of "admiration, surprise, and delight," reinforce or crystallize the patient's courage to the end that we may "build better than we know." The second chapter discusses the rituals of the sickroom, emphasizing the importance of a well-organized routine with one high point or climax daily.

The section on critical opportunities is devoted to preparation for an operation, to ministration to the dying, and to consolation of the bereaved. Mr. Dick devotes considerable space to his own experience with operations because it is illustrative. He feels that the minister can do a great deal to prepare the patient psychologically for the operation and that the best attitude for the patient to have is that "it is all right, whatever happens." The importance of explaining carefully to the patient the result to be expected from the operation is emphasized. Dr. Cabot's excellent discussion of bereavement, giving further evidence of his deep insight into human nature, shows clearly that which consoles the bereaved and that which does not.

There are few who could not read this book with profit, although it probably will not appeal to the enthusiastic atheist, the confirmed skeptic, or the narrow-minded scientist. It should be most helpful to the minister. It should prove very valuable to nurses, social workers, medical students, the younger practitioners of medicine, and even to many of those who have spent years in the practice of the healing art. It is a contribution toward the ideal expressed by Francis Peabody in the letter written to his friend and "scientific godfather," Joseph Pratt, at a time when he knew himself to be traveling in the valley of the

shadow of death: "My great desire has been to have a medical clinic in which the highest type of scientific work was carried on in conjunction with the most human and sympathetic attitude toward the patients—a type of spiritual atmosphere which may be expressed by the word 'Christian.'"

WALTER L. PALMER, M.D.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Adopted Child. By ELEANOR GARRIGUE GALLAGHER. New York City: A John Day book published by Reynal & Hitchcock, 1936. Pp. 291. \$2.50.

A book on the subject of adoptions has been needed, for, though a number of studies have been made, there has been no book written for popular circulation dealing with this subject. From her quotations toward the end of the book and from her general approach and philosophy, one gathers that Mrs. Gallagher is basing her opinions chiefly on her observations of the work at The Cradle. Significant names of chapters in the book are "To Those Contemplating Adoption," "What To Tell the Adopted Child," "Intelligence Tests in Adoption," "Heredity and Environment," "Unmarried Mothers," "The Social Workers' Role in Adoption," and "Adoption Nurseries." It is to be regretted that the author in discussing such a complicated problem has drawn her conclusions chiefly from her acquaintance with several adoption nurseries.

Throughout the book there are a warmth, an enthusiasm, and a vital interest in babies, and scattered through it also are a number of excellent points. Emphasis is placed on the advisability of telling the child casually and naturally at an early age that he is adopted. The person seeking a child in adoption is advised not to delegate this search to a physician or to take a tiny baby directly from a hospital. There is a good general portrayal of the kind of folks who make successful adoptive parents. The author reminds the readers that agencies are interested in finding homes for babies, not babies for homes. The chapter on "Adoption Nurseries" contains the story of the evolution of the medical service at The Cradle—a story from which other institutions may learn.

When the author touches on anything except the mechanics of procedure with which she is familiar, she frequently makes sweeping generalizations with which most individuals experienced in child-placing will not agree and which would very definitely be considered controversial. These include the statement that the agency need not be concerned if the prospective adoptive father does not share his wife's enthusiasm in wanting a baby, the policy of withholding social history, and the very definite feeling that the agency should withdraw as soon as the baby has been placed. She mentions the opinions of psychologists and quotes figures given in surveys and studies but, excepting in a few instances, she does not give her sources or the names of people whose opinions she quotes. She fails to mention the fact that most psychologists of good repute will usually not give an opinion about a baby until they have seen it several times at inter-

vals of from three to six months. Most agencies dealing with children born out of wedlock find that an appreciable number of unmarried mothers (much larger than the percentage in the general population) are defective mentally and that the question of ascertaining the child's mentality is more complex and more time-consuming than Mrs. Gallagher believes. She advocates removing babies from unmarried mothers with merciful swiftness, but later says that infants unfit for adoption are promptly returned to their mothers or transferred to a suitable institution. The later statement raises a multitude of questions concerning the wisdom of the sudden separation.

Many social workers seem to Mrs. Gallagher an authoritative lot, and one wonders if some agencies have not emphasized an inspectional and authoritative approach rather than working out participative relationships with foster-parents and lay people in communities. And many of us know of instances in which an unimaginative or poorly trained worker has in a "routine investigation" caused unnecessary unhappiness to an unmarried mother or to her relatives.

The gulf between Mrs. Gallagher's conception of adoption and that of most social workers seems to be based on two widely differing fundamental premises. Mrs. Gallagher believes that whenever possible the illegitimate child should be separated from its mother permanently soon after birth. Most social workers believe that adoption is a valuable resource which sometimes should and sometimes should not be used; that the unmarried mother and her child offer as complex problems as any which case-workers meet; that each situation should be thought out carefully, many different factors being considered, among the most important of which are the mother's own wishes. Most social workers believe also that the unmarried mother should have the opportunity of considering other alternatives for her baby. Mrs. Gallagher has, so to speak, "put all her eggs in one basket." However, must we not face the fact that, bewildered by the complexities of the problems offered by the unmarried mother and her child, social workers have often let plans for adoptable children who can never be absorbed into their own families drag along until the child is too old to be wanted by most adoptive parents and must face the prospect of having no meaningful, permanent ties?

During recent years the volume of work of adoption nurseries has increased as well as the emphasis on adoption in connection with certain maternity homes. May it not be that too strong a reaction on the part of some child-placing agencies against adoption as a resource has been an important causative factor in these developments? The value of this book to social workers may be that it will act as an incentive to some thoughtful analysis of their attitudes toward illegitimate children and adoption. The lay person should have an opportunity to have the problem presented from another point of view. Let us hope that Mrs. Gallagher will have challenged some social worker to follow this with as readable a book as she has produced.

ELIZABETH MUNRO CLARKE

CHILDREN'S BUREAU
INDIANAPOLIS ORPHAN ASYLUM

Public Service and Special Training: Four Public Lectures Delivered at the University of Chicago, April, 1936. By LEWIS MERIAM. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936. Pp. ix+83. \$1.50.

Four public lectures which Mr. Meriam delivered at the University of Chicago last spring are wisely made available to a much larger audience in this book. As a member of the staff of the Census Bureau, as the first assistant chief of the Children's Bureau, and more recently with the Institute for Government Research of the Brookings Institution, Mr. Meriam knows the government services from within and without and knows that public agencies have roots which are often more important to their successful functioning than conformity to a logical plan.

Those who believe that there is a science of "administration as such," the knowledge of which enables anyone to administer anything, will find Mr. Meriam's long experience does not support this position. He finds that the administrator must really know what he is administering as well as certain standard administrative procedures which have been developed by practical administrators and students of politics.

You have to plan something, you have to organize something, you have to direct something. When you have to select your staff, you have to determine what the different classes of employees will have to do and then what they will have to know in order to do it. Intimate knowledge of the subject matter with which an administrative agency is primarily concerned is indispensable to the effective, intelligent administration of that agency [pp. 2-3].

How government employees acquire this subject matter differs with the various services. In the clerical and fiscal services they usually learn on the job, beginning at the bottom and after years of service and demonstrated ability acquiring positions of responsibility; but for law, medicine, social service, etc., they must begin with the necessary professional training.

The general principles should be acquired by those who are planning to enter the public service but Mr. Meriam believes that

in these professional schools of education, public health, social service, and law, students may get at least a major part of their instruction in public administration in conjunction with their instruction in the specific subject matter of their profession. . . . In the struggle for a worth-while position in the public service special courses in public administration are excellent as minors but, so far as my observation goes, they are rarely demanded as majors [pp. 68-69].

In his lecture on the "Expert in the Public Service" Mr. Meriam refers to the fact that the practice of exempting "experts" from the application of the civil service law has resulted in the following governmental definition: "An expert is a man who lacks the qualifications and the ability to pass an open competitive examination" (p. 28). This definition, as Mr. Meriam points out, is not entirely fair, but anyone who has seen the kind of experts frequently appointed under such rules knows why the definition is applauded by the distinguished specialists

in Washington who have qualified for their positions in an open competitive examination.

All social workers who are interested in the public social services and especially in the federal services will find this book of Lewis Meriam's useful and, *mirabile dictu*, entertaining.

GRACE ABBOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Wages in Eighteenth Century England. By ELIZABETH W. GILBOY. ("Harvard Economic Studies," No. 45.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934. Pp. xxix+297. \$2.50.

Mrs. Gilboy's scholarly study of eighteenth-century wages presents interesting new material for London and for the northern and the western counties. Data were secured from the county records of quarter sessions, for wages paid for road work, bridge-building, and public construction work; agricultural wages from county records; and data for both prices and work from various eighteenth-century commentators.

In general, wages remained stable, while there were great fluctuations in prices. But the whole century, Mrs. Gilboy thinks, was a period of progress toward better standards of living. During the preceding century, when *Political Arithmetic* was furnishing a new interest in statistics, it became the fashion to estimate the minimum upon which a laborer and his family might live. This mental diversion kept its popularity even when a strictly mercantilist interest in cheap labor had given place to real anxiety about the lower classes and the problem of unemployment, and the steadily increasing poor rate. It was part of an increasing propensity to make estimates of everything from population and gin-drinking to the amount of luxurious imports. They were manifestations of a genuine desire for quantitative evidence and marked the beginning of statistics as a study [p. xix].

Mrs. Gilboy thinks the seventeenth-century computations served as a model for those of the eighteenth century, although

the eighteenth century did not lack its own *Political Arithmetic*. Most of the eighteenth-century pamphleteers were trying to prove something; either that parish relief was bad or that it was good; that more workhouses were needed or less; and so on. The construction of more or less hypothetical budgets and earnings was usually a step in building up their case [p. xxi].

There is no doubt about the misery of the people toward the close of the eighteenth century. Mrs. Gilboy comments on the fact that all budgets in Sir Frederick Eden's *State of the Poor* and David Davies' *Case of the Labourers in Husbandry* show a deficit. She thinks, however, that this may not have been the general situation and that these writers

may have selected the less well-off families or neglected various favorable factors, such as supplementary income. Eden admits that his budgets often underestimate family earnings [p. xxiii].

Certainly, "the standard of living of English society, and especially of the lower classes, was changing" (p. 240). The picture in Mrs. Gilboy's chapter dealing with "Wages and the Demand for Labor" is that the British working classes in the west of England

were not full of ambition, economically or socially. They appear to have been a poor, stolid, and often drunken lot, occasionally rebelling in riots and angry demonstration when conditions became worse than usual, as they did in years of poor harvest [p. 241].

In the north of England, the center of the so-called "Industrial Revolution," Mrs. Gilboy finds evidence of

a change and increase in demand among the working people, and of an ambitious and active working class. Although the occurrence of extremely bad conditions, which, in some places, resulted from the advent of the factory system, must not be overlooked, the predominant impression is one of increasing well-being among the working classes [p. 241].

The Harvard University Committee on Research in the Social Sciences is to be congratulated on an important addition to our expanding knowledge of economic change in the eighteenth century.

EDITH ABBOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Evolution of Modern Psychology. By RICHARD MÜLLER-FREIENFELS. Translated by W. BÉRAN WOLFE, M.D. Published on the Foundation established in Memory of Amasa Stone Mather of the Class of 1907 of Yale College, by Yale University Press, 1935, Pp. xvi+513. \$5.00.

Dissatisfaction with academic psychology is not uncommon. Müller-Freienfels is, to say the least, discontented with it, but he is not depressed about it. *The Evolution of Modern Psychology* is a fascinating, unembittered survey—regal in its historical quality—of the reciprocal influence between experimental practice and theoretical research in the ultimate goals of modern psychology and its related sciences. It gives an excellent recital of European modern psychology, in the technical sense, and includes only the best-known American trends in psychology.

Quite apart from aiding one to distinguish academically between the various schools of thought, it rivals a first-class novel in building up and maintaining suspense. The author describes how psychology became conscious of consciousness and then, arm in arm with physiology, bounded forward to action and to combat, an encounter in which one combatant is up and the other down and then both are up (or were they down?) and in search of the "soul." Fear and guilt were bothersome; and had it not been for the unconscious toward the end of the nineteenth century and a little truckling to the superindividual cosmic psyche, the feuds and conflicts engendered thereby might not have been the

deterrents they seem to have been. For the search for the "soul" is still on. *The Evolution of Modern Psychology* and *Anthony Adverse* are not entirely dissimilar. Part IV, "The Psychology with 'Soul,'" of the former and Volume II, Book IV, "In Which Several Images Travel Together," of the latter are alike in tragic mirth.

Two indexes, one for names and one for subjects, and a bibliography dated and in sequence corresponding to the six parts of the book will be treasured by those sincerely interested in psychology. Without qualification it is a distinctive book.

H. E. CHAMBERLAIN, M.D.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Destiny and Disease in Mental Disorders. By C. MACFIE CAMPBELL, Professor of Psychiatry, Harvard University. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1935. Pp. xii+207. \$2.00.

Destiny and Disease in Mental Disorders is the inaugural publication of a series based on the Thomas W. Salmon Memorial Lectures offered under the patronage of the Salmon Committee for Psychiatry and Mental Hygiene of the New York Academy of Medicine. This particular volume makes special reference to the schizophrenic psychoses.

Dr. Campbell is of the conviction that it is dangerous to overemphasize experimental methods and neglect the broader aspects of individuality in the study of humans. Most ably does he encompass the trends in psychiatry and with consummate ease permits one to see what an amphibian professional existence psychiatrists endure. And at times and in various places it may be inferred from *Destiny and Disease in Mental Disorders* that they not only possess endurance but also are joyous, in a quiet way of course, in this nethermost realm.

Dr. Campbell questions the donation in the great group of mental disorders that bacteriological, biochemical, histopathological, or physiological methods make and asserts that so far these methods have not offered any complete or convincing interpretation to many disorders. Furthermore, he states that we have no guaranty that these methods must necessarily find a solution of these problems. In this connection he discusses the broader concepts which not only include the fortuitous elements of destiny but also the schizophrenic reaction that humans turn to in their collusion or circumvention to abet destiny, either their own or the destiny of others. The case material given, which is partial and not comprehensive, is very well arranged. Though formal symptomatology is avoided, it is not difficult for one to recognize in the case material the familiar forms of dementia praecox commonly given in didactic discussions.

Fragmentary as the individual cases are, the student of schizophrenia will readily detect the basic motive that Dr. Campbell has in mind, i.e., to have the case material serve only as a basis of discussion and to feature the broader aspects of the general problem. With a wink at homogeneity he groups his case

material into a workable scheme in which the motif of destiny is invariably present and then with a benign, dignified, and orderly deference concludes the book rather leisurely with a chapter on "Our Kinship with the Schizophrenic." It is this last chapter that professional workers in and around psychiatry should read; particularly those who would be casually erudite and made comfortable by the use of diagnostic terms, for it is they that do violence to the complexity of destiny and disease in many of our mental disorders.

If the scholarly can ever be kindly, yet not betray the scientific, then this book implies that such may come to pass. It is, let us recall, the first of a series of memorial lectures, and quite appropriately Dr. Campbell ends the book thus:

One may seem to be a disturber of the peace if one reject familiar diagnostic terms, and if one insist that more important than the formal diagnosis of the case is its formulation in terms of the familiar forces of human life, based on the painstaking dynamic analysis of the patient and his relation to the environment. With such an outlook the neglect of conventional diagnostic terms may lead to some complaint from our professional colleagues, but our patients at least will not be able to reproach us with having failed to do our best to understand the travail of their spirit, their needs, and their goals, and to bring whatever relief is available to strengthen their bodies, reestablish their personal equilibrium, restore them to their place in the social group. This was the spirit of the distinguished physician in tribute to whom these memorial lectures were established.

H. E. CHAMBERLAIN, M.D.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

BRIEF NOTICES

The Rank and File Movement in Social Work, 1931-1936. By JACOB FISHER.

Published by the New York School of Social Work, 1936. Pp. 49. \$0.20.

Social workers from small cities and from rural areas sometimes ask, "What is this organization called 'the rank-and-file movement'?" The answer is here in Mr. Fisher's succinct chronological account. Beginning with the social workers' discussion groups that sprang up in 1931 chiefly to examine in open forum the perplexing issues of the day, the author traces the development through its many mutations to the final emergence of something approaching a national alignment in the National Co-ordinating Committee.

The final chapter is devoted to a discussion of the relationship between the rank-and-file movement and the profession of social work. The earlier, isolated organizations of 1931 and 1932 sometimes owed their existence to a hostile feeling toward qualified professional workers. What is new in the rank-and-file movement in 1936 is the "conscious effort to relate itself more clearly to the wholesome and progressive tendencies in the profession."

Mr. Fisher succeeds in achieving objectivity in his exposition without becoming either stilted or pallid. Some of his interpretations are, of course, subject to challenge. For example, he asserts in one place and implies in others that the profession of social

work, in the period from 1914 to 1931, did not concern itself with the "larger social issues." Mr. Fisher should re-examine the history of that period. The Federal Child Labor Act was passed in those years and, following its nullification by the Supreme Court, the Child Labor Amendment was pushed through Congress and submitted to the states for ratification. Leaders in the profession spring to mind in connection with this prolonged, and still undecided, battle, but the leaders were also applauded and assisted in their efforts by countless battalions of those who were the "rank and file" of the period Mr. Fisher so roundly condemns.

W. McM.

Social Service Year Book of Chicago, 1935. Published by the Council of Social Agencies of Chicago, 1936. Pp. vi+115. \$1.00 in Chicago; \$1.10 outside of Chicago.

The 1935 *Year Book* follows a plan of organization not unlike that of earlier years, but the format has been improved and the scope enlarged. It is perhaps not without significance that this is the first of the Chicago year books to contain a section on social legislation. In addition there are sections on "Family Service and Relief," "Day Nurseries," "Services to Children," "Care of the Aged," "Health Services," "Housing," "Group Work," "Care of the Adult Offender," "The Negro in Chicago," "Standards of Social Work," "Financing Social Work," and "Social Work Interpretation." In general each section describes significant changes that occurred during the year, presents service and financial statistics, and evaluates developments. The twenty pages devoted to "Family Service and Relief" provide an unusually clear and useful guide through the maze of shifting policies that has bedeviled public relief in Chicago. The section on "Health Services" closes with a useful summary of the major health needs of the community at the end of 1935. This series of year books constitutes a valuable continuing record of Chicago's social work. The Council of Social Agencies performs an important service in making this material conveniently available for study and planning purposes.

W. McM.

Social Determinants in Juvenile Delinquency. By T. EARL SULLENGER. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1936. Pp. ix+412. \$3.50.

This study of the social determinants in juvenile delinquency confirms previous observations rather than throwing new light on a complex subject. In the Preface the author contends that "the causes of juvenile delinquency are multiple. They grow out of the total situation of which the child is a part . . . that it is due almost invariably to some phase or phases of adult insufficiency, growing out of human relations in the primary groups—the family, the playgroup, the neighborhood or the community—and the larger realms of social control." The evidence assembled in the book supports the author's contention that delinquency is the result of a vast number of social stimuli which most frequently originate in the home. Next in importance to the disorganized or broken home as a contributing factor the author places the associations found in the play group. The culture pattern or group ideals of the neighborhood or community also emerged as significant determinants. Poverty or low economic status seemed to provide fertile ground for the development of delinquency rather than to be a direct cause of behavior deviations.

In discussing treatment the author urges an inclusive attack upon the manifold causes, and accordingly a wide range of social endeavor is discussed. There is recognition of the need for all types of treatment from individual therapy through psychiatric and social case work procedures to social action as evidenced in the concluding paragraph which states:

"We have found no unit causes of crime and recommend no unit cures. It is recognized that every individual leads a social existence, and that both the treatment and prevention of crime must consider not alone the individual transgressor, but also the entire primary social group of which he is a functioning unit, whether it be family, playgroup, neighborhood, or larger social relation. Further it is recognized that it is necessary to carry on extensive programs coping with the adverse social and economic conditions whose influences are constant factors in criminal careers."

The author has intended the book for use as a text in classes in juvenile delinquency, criminology, social problems, and child welfare as well as for the community study groups or for the general reader. The simple but comprehensive presentation would enable it to fulfil this wide purpose; in fact, it impresses one as an adequate background book for classroom use. The inclusive Bibliography classified according to chapter subjects should make the volume invaluable to students.

C. T.

Readings in Mental Hygiene. By ERNEST R. GROVES and PHYLLIS BLANCHARD.
New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1936. Pp. xii+596. \$2.75.

Following the publication of *Introduction to Mental Hygiene* the authors encountered a demand for a source book from two quarters—instructors who wanted to build their courses on a basic text as well as provide supplementary reading for their students and librarians who wanted a collection of valid mental hygiene articles to recommend to the general reader. This book has been designed to meet this twofold need.

The sixteen chapters include ninety-four papers, the majority of which have been published elsewhere in specialized scientific journals. Compiled under chapter headings according to subject matter, they now appear in convenient form for the busy social worker, teacher, or lay person. There is a wide range in subject matter; in fact, it encompasses the scope of mental hygiene in its permeation of human welfare groups. The papers are well chosen and represent the thinking of creative leaders in the various fields. An effort apparently has been made to include under each chapter heading articles that are not so technical as to be meaningless to the lay reader. For the most part, however, the selection would seem to be for the instructor rather than for the librarian, as there are many technical articles more suited to the needs of the professional person than to those of the general reader. This compilation should meet a real need in the field today in reaching, in particular, those members of the profession who are isolated from libraries well stocked with scientific journals. The authors may well have set themselves a never ending task. One can anticipate the request for the renewal of this volume, for with the progressive nature of the sciences involved in the field of mental hygiene it could well become a periodic publication.

C. T.

Vocational Rehabilitation and Workmen's Compensation. By CARL NORCROSS. New York: Rehabilitation Clinic, 1936. Pp. xvi+126. \$1.00.

This book is not concerned with the general problem indicated by its title but instead with an investigation of the consequences of compromise settlements and lump-sum payments in 322 compensation cases in New York State. A follow-up investigation of cases closed between July 1, 1930, and August 31, 1933, was particularly concerned with the question of the so-called therapeutic value of lump-sum settlements. The validity of the latter assumption and of the theory of occupational neuroses, when examined in the light of first-hand data, were shown to be fallacious. The investigation revealed that lump-sum settlements (1) had not noticeably improved the client's physical health or mental attitude, (2) had not aided in the conservation or useful expenditure of money, (3) had not stimulated him to find work, and (4) had not aided in his vocational future. Although the conclusions reached are based upon a very small universe, two definite contributions are made: (1) more than mere logical rebuttal is made available to discredit the rationalizations advanced by compensation officials in support of lump-sum settlements and (2) a way is charted for further factual investigation and examination of the problem.

EARL E. KLEIN

Guide to the Unemployment Insurance Acts (4th ed.). By H. C. EMMERSON and E. C. P. LASCELLES. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1935. Pp. vi+280. 4s. 6d.

This useful book is a fourth edition of a convenient summary of the unemployment-insurance legislation and its interpretation and administration. Added to this volume is a chapter on the new Unemployment Insurance Act of 1935 and the Unemployment Insurance Statutory Committee. The Unemployment Assistance Act is also dealt with in a chapter, "Benefit and Poor Law Relief." This is a convenient handbook, and social workers who wish to have in brief compass a record of the English experience will find this well stated by a competent barrister.

E. A.

Guide to the History of Mexico: A Modern Interpretation. By ALFONSO TEJA ZABRE. Mexico City: Press of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1935. Pp. vii+375.

Policies of the Present Administration of Mexico. Mexico City: Government Printing Office, 1936. Pp. 70.

Social workers who work in Mexican neighborhoods and those who watch with interest the development of the new Mexican government will find these two publications of great interest. The first is an attempt so to write the history of Mexico as to interpret its past to the student of today. With economic and political changes in mind, the author undertakes to restate and re-evaluate, pointing out that there is "a vast field crying out for investigation." There are guides and syllabi, very interesting illustrations, and an elaborate Bibliography.

The second volume noted, a small one, sets out for the benefit of those attending the

Conference of the International Labour Office the policies of the present government in relation to labor. There is an interesting Introduction, written by the head of the Department of Labor, which is followed by a number of brief declarations such as "The President's Fourteen Points on the Subject of Labor," a description of the activities of the Department of Labor, a discussion of the agrarian problem, of the educational organization, of the movement to protect the public health and such protective provision as may have been found practicable to establish in the field of the public health. The style in both these statements is direct and simple, and they are supplemented by statistical data graphically presented. Reference is frequently made to the "Six-Year Plan," which contemplates agrarian reform, "work for every man in every village such that human life may be pleasanter, less miserable, and nobler," the development of a sound economic program, the promotion of the public health, educational reform, the protection of the native races, and the organization of women. Progress in effecting the program is noted. It is an optimistic review of revolutionary accomplishments and anticipations.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

TRANSIENTS ON RELIEF

Transients in California. State Relief Administration of California, Division of Special Surveys and Studies, 407 Humboldt Bank Building, San Francisco, Calif., August 3, 1936. Pp. 293. (Mimeographed.)

Migratory Labor in California. State Relief Administration of California, Division of Special Surveys and Studies, San Francisco, Calif., July 11, 1936. Pp. 223. (Mimeographed.)

Public Relief for Transient and Non-settled Persons in the State of New York. Submitted to Governor Herbert H. Lehman, August 3, 1936, by the Governor's Commission on Unemployment Relief, 79 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. Pp. 171.

The Transient Unemployed: A Description and Analysis of the Transient Relief Population. By JOHN N. WEBB. Research Monograph III, Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, Washington, D.C., 1935. Pp. 132 with 29 supplementary tables.

The plight of the transient and non-settled person is familiar to all readers of the *Review*. However, these four reports should prove to be of interest to all who are concerned with this problem. It is common knowledge that the states with mild climates attract the so-called "homeless person," and so the two California reports are of special interest.

The purpose of the California transient study was threefold: (1) to discover the extent of the transient problem in California after the discontinuance of the Federal Transient Service; (2) to determine how the communities were meeting the situation; and (3) to find desirable and practical ways of meeting the problem. An intensive study was conducted in thirteen cities, all of which were believed to be centers for transients in the state. There were also contacts with both private and public social agencies, police, jails, jungles, shacks, towns, cheap hotels, auto camps, amusement centers, etc. The social agencies were asked to keep a record for a six weeks' period from December 16, 1935, to January 26, 1936, of the number of transients and homeless, unattached men, women, and families who applied for aid.

It was shown by the survey that the liquidation of organized care, closing of camps, restriction of intake, blockading of borders of the state, and all such measures made little impression on the number of transients in California who must find some way to live. California's population is only 4.7 per cent of that

of the United States, but California had 12.4 per cent of all the transients receiving relief in the Federal Transient Service and 16.3 per cent of all the transient families. In the six weeks' period in mid-winter after the liquidation of the Transient Service 69,731 transients asked for aid from agencies in nineteen California cities. The study disclosed the facts that persons between ages of twenty-four and thirty-five constituted the backbone of the transient load and that the problem of the unemployables is much smaller than the employables, so the answer to the problem of the transient for the most part will be the answer to the unemployment problem.

Because of this close relationship between transiency and unemployment, the report on migratory labor is of equal value. The purpose of this study was to analyze and to present the problem which was directly affecting the state relief administration. It was not intended to be an intensive study of economic factors. The first section of the report presents the historical data from the period of the gold rush to the present. It traces the agricultural development in the state, the source of the labor supply, methods used in keeping an available labor supply, the problems resulting, and the remedies that have been attempted. The second section deals with statistical material supplied by the S.R.A. staff in ten counties reporting 775 California agricultural laborers who asked for assistance in December, 1935, and in January, 1936. Section 3 presents three family histories and a brief résumé of a fourth.

The survey clearly showed the suffering from and cost of an unplanned agricultural system. The families were found to be living under deplorable conditions. There was in some places a complete lack of sanitary facilities so that the health both of migrant families and of the communities was endangered. Families were shut off from medical resources of the community, although some of these same communities were economically dependent upon this migratory labor. Preventive medicine was totally lacking. Medical treatment was available only when death itself threatened. Child labor was accepted as usual and necessary. Schooling of children was most seriously interrupted. The study has shown conclusively that the migratory labor families do not earn sufficient wages to maintain themselves and that, in order to exist at all, all the families found it necessary to turn to relief agencies for assistance.

The New York report is a study of the nature and administration of the care that was given to destitute persons who did not have a legal settlement in the communities where they were given aid. It was undertaken at the request of Governor Lehman following the discontinuance of the Federal Transient Relief Program. The purpose was "to determine the best plan to be followed by the state and its subdivisions in the future in dealing with this group of transient and non-settled individuals."

The report contains a wealth of valuable material, including an estimate of the problem of transiency in the state of New York; a historical presentation of the development of the care of such persons in the state; an analysis of the

characteristics of the recipients themselves, as well as of the administration of the transient work in the state and in New York City, along with a description of the transient camps, work programs, and relief procedures.

The conclusions in these three reports are very similar to those of all other studies on this subject, namely, that the problem of transiency is interstate in character and that federal financial assistance and responsibility are essential for a satisfactory approach to a solution.

The report *The Transient Unemployed* is of special interest since it was made by a federal governmental agency and issued prior to the liquidation of the Federal Transient Service. The report consists of several sections, the first of which defines the group and states the problem of the transient unemployed, reviews the efforts that were made to obtain consideration for them as a relief group, and presents data on the number of persons included. The second section is concerned with a discussion of the personal characteristics of the two types of transient relief cases—the individual case or unattached transient and the group case or transient family group. The next section describes the occupational characteristics of unattached transients and heads of transient family groups and discusses some of the factors that condition their prospects of absorption by private employment. The fourth section is devoted to analysis of the reasons for the migration of the transient group during the depression. The last section summarizes the principal findings of this report and discusses the relation of the transient relief population to the general problem of unemployment during the depression.

The following quotation is pertinent to the question raised during the reading of this federal report, namely, "If the federal government entered into this field of activity for the reasons stated why did it later withdraw before the problems were solved?"

The problem [transiency] was principally one of interstate migrations; and nothing short of a change in the prevailing principle of local responsibility, or Federal intervention, could prevent a serious problem of destitution with each recurring period of unemployment. Contrary to expectation, it was Federal intervention, rather than a break with the tradition of local responsibility, that, in 1933, made funds available for the relief of the needy non-resident. . . . The Relief Act of May, 1933, recognized that during an emergency caused by nation-wide unemployment, the transient relief population was necessarily a Federal responsibility. . . . Therefore it seems highly probable that the dissolution of the transient population will proceed only as rapidly as business and industry can provide the employment essential to stability. To whatever extent this provision falls short, the transient problem will remain unsolved.

The California and New York reports leave no doubt that the problem of transiency still remains unsolved and that business and industry have not provided the "employment essential to stability." The federal government accepted its responsibility in 1933—why not now?

MARGARET C. BRISTOL

LABOR AND THE NEW BRITISH UNEMPLOYMENT
ASSISTANCE REGULATIONS

Report of the Unemployment Assistance Board for the Period Ended 31st December, 1935. Presented by the Minister of Labour to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, June, 1936. Cmd. 5177. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1936. Pp. 309. 4s. 6d.

Parliamentary Debates (House of Commons), Vol. 313, June, 1936; Vol. 315, July, 1936.

Draft Unemployment Assistance Regulations, 1936. Made by the Minister of Labour, under Sections 38 and 52 of the Unemployment Assistance Act, 1934, together with an Explanatory Memorandum by the Unemployment Assistance Board. Cmd. 6229. London, 1936. Pp. 30. 6d.

Draft Regulations, Unemployment Assistance: Determination of Need and Assessment of Needs. London, 1936. Pp. 7.

Draft Unemployment Assistance Regulations: Memorandum by the Minister of Labour. Cmd. 5228. London, 1936. Pp. 12. 2d.

The Unemployment Act of 1934 which created the Unemployment Assistance Board¹ placed all public assistance to able-bodied, unemployed persons normally belonging to the wage-earning group under the new central authority, which was promptly christened the U.A.B. For more than a decade preceding 1931 the unemployed whose insurance had "run out" but who were still without work, had been cared for by extending their insurance benefits regardless of the fact that the Unemployment Insurance fund could not carry them. In 1931, following the National Economy (No. 2) Order, Transitional Benefit for men and women whose Unemployment Insurance Benefit was exhausted was continued only on the basis of need, and eligibility for Transitional Benefit was to be determined by the Public Assistance authorities. This policy meant, in effect, turning the unemployed back to the poor law and was exceedingly unpopular. However, the Royal Commission in 1932 recommended that any assistance beyond the statutory insurance benefits should be on the basis of "need."

The Unemployment Act of 1934, which brought to an end the earlier policy of 1931, meant taking over eight hundred thousand applicants for "transitional payments" who, with their dependents, came to a total of two and a half million persons.

The standard of assistance to be given the able-bodied unemployed was not laid down in the Act but was to be prescribed in *Regulations* to be adopted by the new national authority and then approved by Parliament.

The first *Regulations* published by the U.A.B. in December, 1934, met with

¹ See R. C. Davison, "The New British Unemployment Act," this *Review*, VIII, 603-15, and "New British Unemployment Assistance at Work," *ibid.*, IX, 83-97.

such bitter criticism² that the Unemployment Assistance (Temporary Provisions) Act, better known as the "Standstill Act" was passed in February, 1935. The new *Regulations* of 1936 are again meeting with vigorous opposition from the British Labour party.

The first annual *Report* of the U.A.B. describes (chap. ii) the statutory requirements to which the *Regulations* must conform, which are, briefly:

that an allowance may be granted to an applicant who proves that he is in need; that the needs of an applicant include the needs of the members of his household who are dependent on or ordinarily supported by him and are not qualified to apply in their own right; and that the resources taken into account when assessing the need of an applicant shall include the resources of all members of the household of which he is a member, subject to special treatment of certain specified resources. It was an essential part of the *Regulations* that they should contain adequate provision for the exercise of what is called "discretion," that is, for the modification of the standard scale and rules to fit the circumstances of an individual case [p. 8].

FAMILY MEANS TEST

The manner in which the representatives of the new Board were authorized to use their discretion is described in chapter iii of the *Report*. A new and more self-respecting term than "relief" was adopted by the use of the term "unemployment allowances," and these allowances were, under the Act, to be "based on the 'household,' that is, by reference to the needs of the applicant and the members of his household dependent on him." Thus the allowances were to be "essentially different from unemployment benefit which is an individual and contractual right to a fixed sum" (p. 9).

Any applicant for unemployment assistance is required to be registered at one of the employment exchanges, and similarly "applicants receive their cash allowances at the Employment Exchanges in the same manner and on the same day as claimants for insurance benefit." Moreover, they are "eligible for training in the same way as persons on unemployment benefit" (p. 18).

The *Report*, in discussing the subject of needs and means makes the following comment:

In considering the "needs" of the household, it is also necessary to consider what "means" are available towards these needs. The Act requires the Board to take into account the resources of all members of the household of which the applicant is a member, except certain types of resources whose treatment is specified in the Act. But it equally requires the Board to have regard to the "personal requirements" of the members whose resources are taken into account. It recognizes that the members of a household who have resources, particularly wages, which form by far the largest part of the resources in the households of applicants, are entitled to some part of their earnings for the purpose of living their own lives, and it also gives some statutory protection to capital savings. Thus it does not require a destitution test to be applied to the household [p. 9].

² See this *Review*, IX, 83-97.

RELIEF IN RELATION TO WAGES

The following paragraphs on the subject of relief and wages are important enough to be quoted in full:

The Board thinks it necessary to call attention to a fundamental question that arises on any general scale of assistance for unemployed persons. Reference is made in Chapter II to the difficult problem of the relation between assistance given during unemployment on the one hand, and general wage levels and the normal earnings of applicants when at work on the other. Even with the rule that no applicant should receive in assistance as much as he could ordinarily earn, the amount of assistance granted in many cases may be so little below an applicant's normal net earnings as to diminish both his eagerness to obtain work and his reluctance to relinquish it.

There are already disquieting signs in individual cases that the close correspondence between wages and allowances is influencing some applicants of the Board. Opportunities of training are provided for unemployed men with a view to the improvement of their physical condition and their chances of employment. The number of younger men, many of whom have never had a regular job since leaving school, who refuse to avail themselves of these opportunities is causing the Board much concern. Similarly, many of the younger women without prospect of employment in their own home area have shown themselves unwilling to take employment elsewhere. Not infrequently also there are cases of married men with families whose allowances are practically the same as the earnings they would normally gain; they find the allowances sufficient for their purpose, with the result that they show little disposition to take work or to hold it when it is given to them. Taken altogether these cases are only a small proportion of the total number of applicants, but they are a significant problem.

Section 40 of the Act provides the Board with power to attach conditions to the grant of allowances. Such a protective power, which is both a safeguard against individual abuse and for the benefit of the household of an applicant who is shown to be mispending his allowance, is necessary in a scheme of this kind. In a small number of cases the Section has already been used, and, with the co-operation of the Advisory Committee, it will be necessary to use it in other types of case.

But while these powers are appropriate for individual cases, the problem of the relation between the money gained by work and the money paid during unemployment, whether as unemployment benefit or unemployment allowances, raises wider issues. It is already receiving the anxious consideration of the Board. It does not affect the Board alone and the Board is strongly of opinion that the whole problem should be examined on the widest basis in the near future [pp. 12-13].

NATIONAL RELIEF "SCALES"

The policies of the U.A.B. in trying to work out a national relief scale for the whole country is described as follows:

As regards the meaning to be placed on the expression of "need" and "needs," the Board took the view that it was concerned with such primary needs as those of food, shelter, fuel, clothing and the like. In this connection the Board took account of authoritative opinion on the cost of living such as was to be found in the "Report on Nutrition" by the British Medical Association, the Report of the Ministry of Health Advisory Committee on Nutrition, and such social surveys as that carried out in London between 1928 and 1930 and on the Merseyside between 1929 and 1932. After study of the avail-

able material it had to be recognized that there was no absolute criterion or scientific basis of need. The standards by which the adequacy of a given income is measured are bound to vary from time to time, from place to place and from class to class according to the consensus of view of the community.

In so far as guidance was to be obtained from the practice of Local Authorities in making provision for the relief of able-bodied unemployed persons the Board studied the scales which had been adopted by most Authorities. These scales have no legal authority; they are drawn up for administrative guidance, and no doubt many departures are made from them in day by day practice. They served, however, to show that wide variations existed which could not be explained by differences in economic conditions but were largely due to local influences which had no relevancy to the Board's task.

The Board did not deem itself to be concerned with scales of assistance so low as to be merely sufficient to support life. Allowances clearly had to be adequate to permit some variety of diet and some command over items which, having formerly been luxuries, are now conventional necessities. It had to keep in mind, however, the necessity of not proposing scales of allowances which would place unemployed persons in a better position than large numbers of persons who were in work. Existing wage levels were a fact that had to be recognized as imposing an upper limit to allowances for households of normal size. The Board had also to have regard to the obvious objections to giving assistance in any particular case which would approximate to or exceed the net earnings which the applicant could expect to receive if he were in work. . . .

THE NEW REGULATIONS

The editors of this *Review* believe that the Labour party criticism of the first annual report of the new Unemployment Assistance Board and the new *Regulations* published last summer will be more interesting than any American comments. An attempt has been made therefore to select some interesting extracts from speeches made in the House of Commons by the Labour party members. The most important of these is that of Mr. Arthur Greenwood, minister of health under the last Labour government.

EXTRACT FROM THE SPEECH OF MR. ARTHUR GREENWOOD JULY 21, 1936

. . . . Apart from the pre-war unemployment legislation our present legislation rests on the Act of 1920. That Act never worked. No Unemployment Insurance Act ever put on the Statute Book of this country has worked. We have never been able to apply the principle of insurance to unemployment since the scheme was established.

When the depression of 1921 increased unemployment substantially, Government after Government, of all parties, had to make provision for extended periods of payment to people who had forfeited the right to standard benefit. We called it by different names—uncovenanted benefit, extended benefit, transitional payment—but whatever it was called it was a realisation of a very important fact, the fact of long periods of unemployment which an insurance scheme could not cover. No distinction in principle was made between the recipients of standard benefit and the recipients of added payments. There was no attempt to push the unemployed on to the Poor Law. Government

after Government declared that they desired to keep the unemployed away from the Poor Law, and that was why they erected the bridge between Unemployment Insurance and the Poor Law system which was called uncovenanted benefit, extended benefit and the rest. People on all sides of the House wanted to avoid that contact between the unemployed and the Poor Law, because of the principles upon which the Poor Law is based.

In 1931, when the first National Government took office, they made a fundamental change in the treatment of a section of the unemployed. We got what the Labour movement of this country had always fought against, differentiation of treatment based on the mere accident of length of unemployment. What was worse than that, infinitely worse, was that, for the first time since we had a national scheme for dealing with unemployed persons, those people were forced into contact with the Poor Law authorities. That was done in 1931, with the knowledge that the Poor Law system was punitive, repressive and deterrent in its character. That is the root of our objection to the policy of 1931 and to the Acts from 1931 to 1934, and also of our objection to the Regulations which are being made. . . .

In 1934 we opposed the Unemployment Bill which was introduced by the Government. . . . We opposed Part I because it reverted to the principle of insurance, which had never worked. The Government attempted to put the maintenance of the unemployed within the scheme on an insurance basis. They were concerned with one thing, and one thing only; not with the lot of the unemployed, but with the solvency of the fund. The solvency of the fund was put in front of any consideration; the needs of the unemployed were disregarded. The fund had to be made to balance at whatever cost. We objected to that. We see how this fund is being used. When last year there proved to be a balance, did that balance go to the advantage of the unemployed? It was frittered away in halfpenny reductions of contributions. We objected to Part II of the Measure because it sought to make permanent the Poor Law inquisition which was established for the first time in 1931. We objected to it because it sought to render permanent the differentiation between various sections of the unemployed, irrespective of their needs, but based upon something which is quite foreign to any kind of reasonable treatment, on the principle that the longer you are out of work the worse you have to be treated. We objected to it, and so did hon. Members below the Gangway, because it removed the power of effective constructive effort from the Floor of this House to the Unemployment Assistance Board. The Government had the fantastic notion that they could take unemployment out of politics. You might as well ask . . . to take poverty out of politics. . . .

Our primary objection, as I said at the beginning, is to the means test. It is true that the Regulations ease hardships in certain directions. The Government, out of very shame, have had to retrace their steps. These Regulations are another ignominious retreat, something like the retreat of last year, though on a smaller scale. But even if the Government were to issue more generous Regulations, they would not satisfy us. I want to make it as clear as I can to the House, because what I am saying now I am saying, not on behalf of my friends alone, but on behalf of the organised Labour movement of this country, that we can never agree to any Regulations, however generous they may appear on the surface, so long as the means test stands as part of the law of the land.

We shall always oppose this forcible association of the unemployed with Bumbledom and the Poor Law. These unemployed people are the wounded soldiers of the industrial

army. In a war the most severely wounded soldiers are not treated the worst. They are treated the best. The Poor Law system goes back to the days when poverty was regarded as a crime and as being due to personal shortcomings. To-day poverty is a crime of society and not of individuals. It was a crime that was punished by a deterrent Poor Law. To-day the people who permit it ought to be punished. It is reasonably possible to sweep away the poverty that we have to-day. In the overwhelming majority of cases the poor are poor, not because they have committed any crime, not because of any personal defects or short-comings, but because they have been swept up into a system which does not need them, and which just casts them aside. . . .

I do not think hon. Members realise how deeply people in the worst afflicted areas feel. There is no need for us to try to organise an agitation. Hardly were the Regulations put before us when every leader in the movement was approached for immediate action and protest, because this strikes very deeply into the hearts of the people in those homes where this test is applied. It is most humiliating to a father who has brought up a family to feel that he is now living on compulsory charity from them. It is a method which reduces very substantially the wages of the people who are working in the homes. It is a method that tends to break up family life. It is idle for the investigating officers to report that they have never heard of any such thing. Members on this side of the House, and I dare say hon. Members opposite, could bring hundreds of cases where the operation of the means test has really meant the break up of the family at a time when it is most easily possible to break it up. You cannot break up a family of father, mother and dependent children. When you have young men and women growing up, with their own lives before them, their own interests and their own desires, anxious though they may be to help the family, when you apply a means test like this you are doing something to dissolve the unity of family life and not to maintain it.

FROM THE SPEECH OF MR. G. DAGGAR, JUNE 22, 1936

. . . . The Board point out in the Report that the Unemployment Act, 1934, did not define the term "need"—which is quite correct—and go on to state that there is no absolute criterion or scientific basis of need, and that they were guided by consideration of an allowance that "would be adequate to permit some variety of diet, and some command over items which, having formerly been luxuries, are now conventional necessities." That, I submit, is the most callous and brutal piece of irony to be found in any Government publication, when the average allowance per unemployed person amounts to a miserable 23s. per week. What articles at one time considered luxuries can be purchased out of 23s. per week? You cannot maintain an ordinary diet upon that allowance. On Thursday of last week a question was put to the right hon. Gentleman, and, in reply, he stated that 24,000 children from the distressed areas were sent to various holiday reconditioning camps, and the weight of each of those children increased on an average of 3.48 lbs. in 14 days. It is admitted that the children are generally, if not invariably, the last to suffer from the effects of industrial depression which finds its expression in unemployment. Have the Board never read the recent report issued by Sir John Orr, in which he showed that this country the number of persons—and this state of affairs can only exist among those who have been unemployed for a long time—who are in the position of not being able to spend more than a paltry 4s. per head per week on food is 4,500,000, or 10 per cent. of the population; while 9,000,000, or 20 per cent. of the population, are not in a position to spend more on food than 9s. per head per week. These statements can be borne out by reference to other authorities in this

country. If our people were in a position to purchase and to be maintained upon a reasonable diet, it would involve an additional expenditure of £200,000,000 a year. That object cannot be achieved by paying the unemployed man or woman in this country 23s. per week. But, in spite of such facts, we are told by the Unemployment Assistance Board that it "was concerned with such primary needs as those of food, shelter, fuel, clothing, and the like." Never in my opinion was there a more callous piece of inhuman cynicism. . . .

FROM THE SPEECH OF MR. ANEURIN BEVAN, JUNE 22, 1936

If hon. Members had any experience of Poor Law administration, they would realise that these reports disclose a shameful and distrusting mentality. One officer in a division actually boasts, in discussing the means test, that he was able to disclose to the parents that their sons and daughters were earning much more money than they had told their parents. There exists a system of domestic espionage subsidised by the State. What a splendid way of keeping a family together. What happy homes this will make. The assistance officer goes along to the mother and father and says, "It is not true that your son is earning £2 a week; he is getting £2 10s. a week and has not told you of the 10s." This mighty nation is paying £1,500,000 a year to employ officers to sneak on sons and daughters. That is what is happening. . . .

I know there are hon. Members who really believe in a means test, but who have grave doubts about the family means test. Many of them suggest that there ought to be a means test because a man ought not to receive public funds if he is able to keep himself, but they nevertheless think that the application of a family means test has grave disadvantages. Obviously hon. Members in that position ought to be able to obtain the advice of a disinterested body of investigators informing themselves whether it is possible to carry out that principle. What have they done? They have established a Board; they have established 7,000 officials with a vested interest in the maintenance of a means test. So far as I know, it is the first time in the history of British politics that persons have been appointed whose interest it is to make things more difficult for the people.

That is the position now under the Board, and I want the Minister and hon. Members opposite to consider that position. These people were appointed in substitution for the old guardians of the poor. If a guardian gave less or more to any applicant for public assistance he was not concerned at all about it; he was not affected particularly by it. But this body of people, appointed in substitution for the old boards of guardians, would commit suicide as an administrative body if they gave more, because the more they give the less justification there is for their official existence. In other words, you have created not guardians of the poor but enemies of the poor. You have created a vested interest in the perpetuation of the poverty of the poor. If those people recommended a modification of the means test so substantial that a large expenditure of money would be involved, the Board would have no further justification for its existence and would disappear. But we consider these gentlemen to be so philanthropic, so altruistic, so idealistic, that they would make a recommendation which might result in their own dissolution on the following day. . . .

FROM THE SPEECH OF MR. D. R. GRENFELL, JUNE 22, 1936

The original intention of the means test was not to remove poverty, but to lessen the cost of unemployment relief to the Treasury. We must not allow the Government

to forget that. We must not allow our own people to forget it. That is the charge that we level against the Government. They have been successful in saving expense to the Treasury, but they have condemned millions of our fellow citizens to a lower standard of poverty, from which there is no escape so long as this Board is given the authority that it possesses today. . . .

FROM THE SPEECH OF MR. HUGH DALTON, JULY 21, 1936

My hon. Friends have persistently maintained, equally through long years, that for the unemployed there should be either work or maintenance, and that work is the better of the two. The Government have given, at any rate so far as over 1,750,000 of our fellow-citizens and their dependents are concerned, neither work nor maintenance. They have under the present Regulations, and they will have under these new Regulations, a bare subsistence. The right hon. Gentleman the Minister of Labour has said that one of the most revolutionary departures in the new Regulations is the introduction of a few halfpence for what he calls "dignity money," to enable the old man to go and buy a packet of "fags" without having to ask his sons for the coppers with which to buy them. That is a great contribution on which I congratulate the Government. I hold here a report made in the South-West Durham area, and if the right hon. Gentleman would care to see it afterwards I shall be very happy to give it to him, because it is a vivid picture of conditions as they exist among the unemployed people in the constituency I have the honour to represent, and in the neighbouring areas.

FROM THE SPEECH OF MR. E. SMITH, JULY 22, 1936

. . . It is the principle of the means test which is wrong. The principle ought never to have been introduced into public life, because unemployment is not the fault of an individual. I know of friends of mine and of women friends of ours who have tried to do everything that is right in life. They have tried to serve the employer and tried to do everything that they would be expected to do. But when trade becomes slack and the export trade of the Lancashire cotton industry has gone for ever, as it has—and it is the same with the engineering industry, which had it not been for the armaments programme, would still have been in a serious position—then these men, . . . and these women through no fault of their own, find themselves after six months subjected to the humiliating means test. It is not the fault of any individual, nor is it the fault of a household. It is the fault of the social system under which we are living. . . .

The main purpose of the 1934 Act, so far as Part I was concerned, was to put unemployment Insurance on an actuarial basis. Any hon. Member who has studied this problem will agree that it is impossible to put unemployment insurance on an actuarial basis. If that could have been done, you may be sure the Prudential would have done it long before now. The reason that it has been dealt with in this way is that the unemployed may be made subject to these regulations. The officers of the Board are to be given universal discretion. . . .

In one cotton town where a big percentage of people are unemployed there was a well-painted placard not long ago. It was on a big butcher's shop, and it said:

THE MEANS TEST MEAT SHOP. TEST YOUR MEANS HERE.
THE CHEAPEST MEAT IN TOWN.

What a tragedy that people are living in circumstances like that. In 1936 we shall again be putting back the clock of social progress if these scales are passed. The scales are altogether too low. . . .

FROM THE SPEECH OF MR. T. SMITH, JULY 22, 1936

... What is the history of the means test? In 1931 we were told it was economy. From 1931 until after the General Election what took place? You had a means test in operation then which was even worse than now. ... When I was returned to the House of Commons in 1933 members of the Conservative party told me that they were so ashamed of the means test as it was being practised that they could not defend it from a public platform. This means test took into account the whole of workmen's compensation. ...

The Secretary of State for Scotland ... said he knew that the means test caused bitterness inside homes. It does. You have a father unemployed, and a son, say 25, working, who brings home two pounds or three pounds a week. Merely because he is a good worker and earns decent money it means that his father gets nothing. I know scores of cases where sons have left home rather than see their parents suffer. I will give another example. A young man hears of a job 30 miles from home. He goes for the job and earns a decent wage. When he leaves home his father is at work. While he is away from home the father falls out of work, and passes through the period of standard benefit to the means test. Because the son has left, the father and mother get their full allowance. The son hears of a job in his own trade nearer home, and he wants to be nearer home. He is faced with this position, that if he takes the job and goes to live at home, because he is earning between 55s. and 60s., his father gets no allowance at all. I ask any hon. Member with any experience of working class life what they would do in such a case? The lad did not go home, he went into lodgings. Another complaint we have against the means test is that it stabilises poverty and never gives the family a chance to live above the poor standard. That is one of the rotten things about it. The harder a young man works the less his dad gets in allowance. We had a typical example of that in the increase of wages of miners. The moment some of the lads got an extra 1s. per shift, they found that when they handed over the money down went the old man's allowance. ...

FROM THE SPEECH OF MR. J. F. EMERY, JULY 22, 1936

... If we take another view of the Regulations, I am convinced there is very little material difference, if any at all, between what is suggested and the system which has operated for many years—the one which has operated under the old boards of guardians and, later on, through the public assistance committees. We are told that the object of the Act of 1934 was to divorce the problem of unemployment from the Poor Law. I think we can say that that object has been achieved, but it has only been achieved by a change of name—the name only of the administrative body which deals with these matters. As to rendering any real assistance to increased benefits to the unemployed, there is practically no change. The Poor Law authorities had to deal with the able-bodied unemployed on the basis of need exactly in the same way as is to be done under the new Regulations by the Unemployment Assistance Board—to deal with individuals according to their need. Further, the necessity for the help of local advisory bodies simply proves that the new system must absorb the virtues of the old to become efficient. There are many rearrangements in the Regulations, but the point I want to emphasise is that the Regulations have not to a measurable extent, so far as the victims are concerned, improved their lot from the position they occupied under the old arrangements operated by the local authorities. ...

FROM THE SPEECH OF MR. W. A. ROBINSON, JULY 22, 1936

... Why should officials under any system of means test, applied by any Government, walk inside a workman's house and ask what savings he has got? The person next door might have earned just as much, or twice, but spent it in good cheer, as he was entitled to do. When troublous times come this happy man who has lived his life and spent his money gets his money without challenge. The careful soul next door, who scrounged and saved, is told, "You can have nothing until you have spent what you have saved."

It is a tax on thrift. I was told in my schoolboy days "Save the pennies and the pounds will take care of themselves." And now this great Government, upsetting all the texts, is saying: "Take care of the pennies and we will pinch the pounds from you." It is all wrong. In the long sustained Debate over these Regulations my mind was turned back to my youthful days. The sweetest prayer I ever heard was the old Quaker's prayer which said: "God forgive me while some starve."

The secretary of state for the Home Department, Sir John Simon, and the minister of labour, Mr. Ernest Brown, were the principal defenders of the Unemployment Assistance Board and the *Regulations* which were under consideration. We quote briefly from their remarks.

FROM THE SPEECH OF MR. ERNEST BROWN, JULY 21, 1936

... It was the sudden impact of this uniform system upon the tremendously varied practices of 201 public assistance authorities which was one of the major causes, we discovered, of difficulty in the application of the original Regulations. I do not for one moment wish to suggest that the original Regulations were without fault. Experience has shown that there were a number of defects in them which required amendment. ...

FROM THE SPEECH OF SIR JOHN SIMON, JULY 22, 1936

... I think it will be found, on a fair analysis, that the question of the means test is not really one of abstract principle, something between light and darkness, or between right and wrong. I think it will be found to be a question of degree and of fair play and of common sense. We shall, no doubt, differ acutely as to what is fair play and as to what is common sense. ...

All assistance is given or should be given only to those who are in need. That is not merely what is in the Statute of 1934; it is the groundwork, the basis, upon which relief to persons who cannot otherwise maintain themselves is given. No one would suggest that public money should be distributed without regard to means, and there is no better known Socialist principle—and I do not quote it in any jeering spirit because I think that in its proper application it is a good principle—than the principle of "to each according to his need." ...

If the need of the applicant in cases of this sort is not a suitable measure of the relief to be given, there is nothing to be done but to say that you have nothing to do with need in the giving of relief, and then two results follow. One result, of course, is an appalling waste of public money. The second result is this—and I am surprised that hon. Members opposite have not given more attention to this consideration. If you do not, at least, try to apply the relief in accordance with need, grave injustice will be done between two applicants whose needs vary widely. ...

When you are dealing with standard benefit, which is the result of insurance, nobody suggests that this question arises, but when you go beyond that and come to the question of how assistance is to be given to those who are in need, not under the terms of an insurance contract but because they are in need—then I submit to the House it is different. . . .

The point which I am making now and I think the House will see its relevance, is that if we can manage to look at the question apart from its tragedy and apart from the anxieties involved, we ought to be prepared to admit that the application of a test of need or of means, in cases where social legislation is coming to the relief of people who are poor, is really essential if you are to have proper regulation. . . .

I would invite hon. Members who, the moment they hear the words "means test," work themselves into a state of great indignation, to consider the provisions of that Bill carried through the House of Commons by a Labour Government, with the support of the Labour party and with the support of others in the House as well. It is provided for the raising of the school age with maintenance allowances. That Bill—Sir Charles Trevelyan's Bill—made provision, not that those allowances should be given to every parent whose child was kept on at school but that they should be given only to those parents who satisfied a means test, and a Schedule to the Bill gave the form of claim for those allowances. . . .

As I have said more than once, it is not a sound position to attack these Regulations because they include a means test, or even a means test which brings into account somebody other than the applicant. They could be perfectly well criticised if it could be shown that the net had been drawn too wide, that the personal allowances were too small, that the treatment does not fairly correspond to the facts of life and to the actual relations of the family. It is my submission to the House that if one looks at the Regulations fairly, they cannot be attacked on abstract grounds, but have to be attacked because of the details they contain. . . .

CONCLUSION

Briefly the Labour party charged that the first report of the U.A.B. "consisted chiefly of a defence of the Board's administration of the Family Means Test" and was in fact a "preparation of the public mind for the new regulations." The Labour party at once began launching a nation-wide campaign against the new *Draft Regulations* of the Board.

Last July a special conference of more than fourteen hundred delegates, representing the British labour movement in all its political, industrial, and co-operative sections, met in London under the auspices of the National Council of Labour to discuss the best method of combating the new proposals for reducing the standard of living of the unemployed.

The conference passed the following resolution:

This special Conference of Trade Union and Political Labour Bodies expresses its profound dissatisfaction with the draft Regulations of the Unemployment Assistance Board. Whilst it recognizes that certain minor concessions are to be made, they are insufficient to meet the bare physical needs of the unemployed. Moreover, numbers of unemployed, specially those who have suffered longest from lack of work, are to be cast into deeper want and misery by an actual reduction in the payments made to them.

The Conference declares that, in the absence of normal wage-earning employment at Trade Union rates, the unemployed who are the victims of economic circumstances outside their control should be maintained in a state of proper physical well-being.

The Conference, therefore, calls on all citizens of good will to rally to the aid of the unemployed by bringing the utmost pressure to bear on the Government and Members of Parliament through demonstration and letters of protest, in order to enforce the immediate withdrawal of the Regulations and the substitution of better scales, coupled with an alteration of the Unemployment Assistance Act, 1934, to abolish the unjust and humiliating Means Test, which will deprive the unemployed of even the meagre amounts the Regulations purport to give them.

A statement issued from Labour party offices indicated that the further meeting of the National Council was held on July 21, to which "evidence of the injurious effects that would be felt in their areas under the Regulations, was submitted by representatives from South Wales, Cumberland, and Durham, the National Council proposing the holding of local demonstrations of protest on July 26." This statement also adds that it was also decided to organize a series of national demonstrations in various centers through the country and concludes with the following statement:

The Labour Movement as a whole is resolutely determined that the long-term unemployed, already drained of their resources, the victims of economic circumstances beyond their control, shall no longer be penalised; that the Means Test which lays the burden of unemployment upon the unemployed home shall be abolished; and that unemployment assistance shall for the future be related to physical needs.

All of which indicates that the Labour party, although defeated, as was expected, in Parliament, in its efforts to amend the Regulations submitted by the Unemployment Assistance Board, intends to keep up its fight against any means test for unemployment assistance.

E. A.

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